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KELLY'S KEYS TO THE CLASSICS.
VOL. VII.

C. C. TACITUS.

THE
GERMANY AND AGRICOLA:
LITERALLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH PROSE,
WITH
ORIGINAL AND SELECT NOTES.

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"Tentavit quoque rem dignè si vertere posset"—HORACE.

Third Thousand.

DUBLIN:
W. B. KELLY, 8 GRAFTON STREET
LONDON:
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & CO., STATIONERS' HALL COURT.
EDINBURGH: OLIVER & BOYD.
1860.

THE
GERMANY AND AGRICULTURE
LITERALLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH PROSE
ORIGINAL AND SELECT NOTES

J. F. FOWLER, PRINTER,
3 CROW STREET, DAME STREET,
DUBLIN.

Staatl. Bibliothek
Bamberg

C. CORNELIUS TACITUS

ON THE

TOPOGRAPHY, INSTITUTIONS, AND TRIBES OF GERMANY.

1. GERMANY, taken collectively, is separated from the Gauls and the Rhæti and Pannonians, by the streams of the Rhine and Danube; from the Sarmatæ and Dacians, by mutual jealousy and the mountains. The ocean forms the rest of its boundary, enclosing extensive peninsulas and islands of incalculable extent, with several recently known nations and kings, with whom war has made us acquainted. The Rhine, rising in the steep and inaccessible summit of the Rhætic Alps, and bending to the west with an easy curvature, mingles its waters with the Northern Ocean. The Danube, flowing from the round and gently-swellling elevation of Mount Arnoba, passes through several nations, until it falls through six channels into the Pontic Sea, for the seventh is drained off among the marshes.

2. I am disposed to believe that the Germans are aboriginal, never modified by immigration or the temporary sojourn of other tribes; because, in early ages, those who sought a change of residence used to migrate, not over land, but by sea; and the boundless, and—if I may so call it—the up-hill ocean on the far side, is seldom visited by ships from our part of the world. Besides, independently of the dangers of a stormy and unexplored sea, who would leave Asia, Africa, or Italy, and repair to Germany, so unattractive in its scenery, inclement in its climate, and uninviting in its artificial and natural aspect, except, per-

haps, it were his native country? They commemorate in ancient songs—their only form of record or chronicle—the Deity Tuisto, the offspring of the Earth, and his son Mannus, as the first nucleus and founders of their community. To Mannus they attribute three sons, after whose names the Ingævones, nearest the ocean; the Hermiones, more inland; and the Istævones, including all the rest, severally call themselves. Some authorities, assuming an antiquarian discretion, assert “that there were several deities, and that the names Marsi, Gambrivii, Suevi, and Vandalii, were all so many titles of the nation, and these, historical and ancient names, but that the name of Germany is modern, and recently assumed; since they who originally crossed the Rhine and expelled the Gauls, and are now known as Tungri, were then called Germans”. So widely did the name of a single tribe, and not of the collective nation, extend itself, that all assumed the German name, originally imposed through intimidation by the victors, and eventually adopted by themselves.

3. They tell also of a national Hercules, and while marching to battle celebrate him in song as the greatest of all heroes. They have also those metrical legends, by the recital of which—called *barditus*—they kindle their courage, and deduce from the character of the song a presage of the issues of the coming fight; for the armies inspire or feel terror according to the nature of the sound; and they seem to be not human voices, but a chorus of martial inspiration. A harshness of tone is the principal object; and an intermitting roar, as they apply their shields to their mouths, that the sound may swell more deeply and loudly by the reverberation. Some are also of opinion that Ulysses in his tedious and legendary voyage was wafted to this ocean, and landed upon the shore of Germany; and that Asciburgium, which stands on the bank of the Rhine, and is inhabited at the present day, was founded by him, and called Ασκιπυργιον; that an altar, too, was once found in the same place, dedicated to Ulysses, with the additional name of his father Laertes; and that tombs and barrows, marked with Greek inscriptions, are still in existence on the frontiers of Germany and Rhætia;—statements which it is not my intention either to support by proof or to refute. Each, according to his taste, must withhold or accord his belief.

4. I should, myself, incline to their views, who believe that the tribes of Germany were not crossed by any matrimonial intercourse with other nations, and that the race continued peculiar, unmingled, and unique. In consequence of which, even their physical characteristics, though in so numerous a population, are uniform. They have all a fierce expression in their blue eyes, red hair, and bodies of large size, and strong in momentary efforts. They have no corresponding endurance of hardships and continuous toil; and, though never trained to endure drought and heat, they are habituated to the cold of the climate and the hunger of the soil.

5. The country, though somewhat diversified in character, generally presents either the gloom of the forest, or the desolation of the marsh; more rainy where it faces Gaul, and more stormy where it approaches Noricum and Pannonia; fertile in corn, but uncongenial to fruit trees; productive in cattle, which are generally of stunted growth. Nor do even the oxen retain their proper stateliness, or decoration of the head. With the number of these they are content; and these are their exclusive and most highly esteemed possessions. The gods—whether in kindness or anger I cannot decide—have denied them silver and gold. I could not, however, positively assert that Germany contains no mine producing silver or gold, for who has ever carefully sought it? But they are not proportionately influenced by their possession and value. Silver vases may be seen among them, presented as compliments to ambassadors and princes, held in the same ordinary estimation as those formed of clay; although the borderers set a value upon gold and silver for mercantile purposes, and recognize and prefer some denominations of our currency, while the people of the interior adopt the more simple and primitive mode of bartering commodities. They prefer the old and long established coins, the *serrati* and *bigati*. Silver also they covet more than gold; not from any peculiarity of fancy, but because the number of the coins is more convenient for the purchasers of cheap and common articles of trade.

6. Even iron is not abundant, as may be inferred from the style of their weapons. They seldom use swords or long lances; they are armed with javelins—or, in their own phraseology, *frameæ*—with narrow and short blades,

but so sharp and so convenient, that with the same weapon, as occasion may require, they can fight either hand to hand or from a distance: and though the cavalry are content with a shield and javelin, the infantry, in addition, cast missiles, of which each man throws several, and which they hurl to an incalculable distance. They go naked, or covered with a light mantle. They make no display of dress, and merely decorate their shields with favourite colours. Corslets are worn by a few; and caps, or helmets, by one or two at most. Their horses are not remarkable either for figure or speed, nor are they trained, like ours, to intricate evolutions; but they guide them straight forward, or wheel uniformly to the right, in such close order, that none is ever thrown to the rere. On a general estimate, their strength lies principally in their infantry; and, accordingly, they take the field mingled with the cavalry; for the agility of these foot soldiers, whom they select from the general mass of their young men, and station in the van, is calculated and suited to an equestrian engagement. Their number also is matter of arrangement. From each canton one hundred are supplied; and they are designated at home by a name of that signification, so that a term which originally implied a number, has now become a title and a distinction. Their battle array is formed in wedges; and they consider that a retreat, provided one resumes his position, is rather a movement of address than cowardice. Even in the most indecisive engagements, they rescue the bodies of their friends. The most signal disgrace is the loss of a shield; nor is any man so degraded permitted to take part in religious ceremonies or deliberative assemblies; and many, who survive the war, terminate their disgrace by a halter.

7. They choose their kings for their rank, and their generals for their valour; but the power of their kings is neither despotic nor arbitrary; and their generals derive their influence through popularity, from their character and military skill, from their energy and distinction, and taking the lead in front of the army. None, however, except the priests are permitted to inflict the punishment of death, imprisonment, or the scourge; and even then, not as a punishment, or by the general's authority, but, as it were, by order of the Deity, who, as they believe,

accompanies them on their expeditions: and, under this impression, they bring into battle the idols and images taken from the consecrated groves; and what constitutes their strongest incentive to heroism is, that neither accident nor a casual concourse of men forms their battalions, but families and clans, and their nearest and dearest relatives close by. Hence may be heard the shrieks of women and wailing of children. These are the most solemn witnesses and the best approvers of the deeds of all. They present their wounds to their mothers and wives, who never shrink from counting and even looking for their scars, and supply food and encouragement to the combatants.

8. It is recorded, that their armies, on some occasions, when wavering and retreating, have been rallied by the women, through the earnestness of their entreaties, the exposure of their bosoms, and the suggestion of impending bondage, which they dread more intensely for the women, to such an extent that the allegiance of those states is more effectually secured, from whom virgins of high rank are taken as hostages. They believe, moreover, that women are invested with a degree of holiness and prophetic power, and they will neither reject their advice nor disregard their warnings. We have seen, for instance, in the reign of Vespasian, Veleda long regarded by many as a divinity; and in former ages they worshipped—though not with servility, nor as if they deemed them goddesses—Aurinia and several others.

9. They venerate Mercury most of all the gods, and to him they observe the ceremony of offering human victims on particular days. Hercules and Mars they propitiate with more legitimate sacrifices; and some of the Suevi make offerings, among the rest to Isis. The motive and origin of this foreign worship I have never been able to ascertain, further than, that the idol, which is shaped like a galley, intimates that the superstition has been imported. They do not, however, believe that, in consideration of the majesty of superior beings, they should confine their deities within buildings, nor represent them by any likeness to the human form. They merely consecrate bowers and groves, and designate by the names of gods that mysterious essence which they behold only in the spirit of adoration.

10. To omens and predictions they pay the most respectful attention. Their practice with regard to oracular responses is simple. They cut into small pieces a bough from a fruit tree; and these, when marked with certain characters, they throw indiscriminately and at random upon a white cloth. Then, if the question be of public import, the priest of the canton, or the head of a family, if it relate to an individual, praying to the gods and looking to Heaven, takes them up in three separate lots; and as he raises them, reads their meaning according to the marks previously inscribed. If they intimate a prohibition, no further deliberation of the question ensues during the same day; but if a permission, a further confirmation by omens is expected. The practice also of interpreting the cries and the flight of birds is known in this country; but, it is a peculiarity of the nation to deduce prognostics and warnings from horses. These are maintained as public property in the above-mentioned woods and sacred groves, are all white, and contaminated by no earthly labour; and when yoked to a sacred chariot, the priests, with the king or chief of the community, accompany them and watch their neighing and snorting. No presage is more credulously received, not merely among the people, but even by the nobility and priests; for these regard themselves as the agents of Heaven, and the horses as depositories of its pleasure. There is also another form of divination by which they investigate the results of their more important wars. They secure by any possible means a prisoner of that nation with whom they quarrel, and match him against a chosen champion of their own country, each in his national arms; and the victory of one or the other is received as a prophetic intimation.

11. On questions of secondary importance, the nobles take council; and on more important matters, the whole community, with such limitation, however, that those subjects, over which the people enjoy a discretionary power, are previously discussed by the nobles. They assemble on stated days—except some accident or emergency should interpose—at the changes or full of the moon; for they consider this the most favourable moment for all undertakings. They reckon the number, not as we do of the days, but of the nights; and on this principle they arrange all their public resolutions and ordinances; for the night

appears to precede the day. This defect, however, results from their liberty, that they attend their meetings, not simultaneously, nor as if they met by authority, but a second, and sometimes even a third day is lost by the irregularity of their attendance. As soon as the meeting think proper, they take their seats in arms; and silence is commanded by the priests, who have on those occasions the power of enforcing it. Then the king or chief, according to seniority, or rank, or military distinction, or eloquence, rises to speak; rather, however, with influence to persuade than power to command. Should his views be unpopular, they signify their dissent by murmurs; if acceptable, they clash their arms; and the most complimentary form of assent is to applaud by this clashing of arms.

12. It is also lawful to prefer accusations before the council, and to institute trials for capital offences. The scale of penalties is proportionate to the offences. Traitors and deserters they hang upon the trees: such as have been guilty of neglect or abandonment of military duties, and of unnatural sensuality, they drown in the muddy marshes, with a hurdle placed over them. This distinction of punishment bears reference to the principle, that crimes should be exposed while they are punished; but, that offences of a disgraceful nature should be concealed. For more trivial offences also, according to a fixed scale of penalties, the convicts are fined in a number of horses and cattle: one half the penalty is paid to the king or the state, the other to the plaintiff or his relatives. At these meetings also the nobles are elected, who administer justice in the cantons and villages; and a hundred companions of plebeian rank attend upon each, to assist and enforce their decisions.

13. They engage in no public or private business, except in arms; but it is not customary for any man to wear arms before the state shall have proved his efficiency. Then, in the body of the assembly, some one of the nobles, or his father, or a relative, equips the youth with a javelin and shield. This ceremony is the assumption of the toga, and the earliest distinction of youth. Theretofore they are regarded as members of a family; thenceforth, of the state. The high rank or eminent services of their fathers confer even on young men the dignity of chieftain. They attach

themselves as companions to others of more mature and long tested valour, and are not ashamed to be seen among their followers. This system of companionship also has its degrees, determined by the leader whom they follow; and an earnest rivalry prevails among the companions for the highest place next the chief; and among the chiefs, for the greatest number of the most valiant companions. This is regarded as rank and power: to be always attended by a strong band of chosen youths, as a distinction in peace and a protection in war. And it is not merely in their own several districts, but among neighbouring states also, that the distinction and pride of being conspicuous for the number and valour of companions is recognized. They are even courted by embassies, and complimented by presents; and generally by their mere reputation influence the issues of a war.

14. When they engage in battle, it is disreputable for a chief to be surpassed in valour, and for the companions to fall short of the valour of their chief; but, it is a life-long infamy and degradation to survive the chief and return from the field. To be his defence and protection, and to attribute their own heroic deeds to his credit, is their principal military obligation. The chieftains fight for victory, the companions for the chieftain. If the state, of which they are natives, be slumbering in a protracted peace and idleness, most of the young nobles repair uninvited to those nations who are at the time engaged in war; because inaction is uncongenial to the race, and they can more readily attain distinction amid scenes of danger; and it is only by violence and war that one can maintain a numerous retinue; for they tax the liberality of their chieftain for their chargers and their blood-stained and conquering frameæ. Banquets and entertainments, plentiful though homely, serve as an equivalent for pay; and the sources of this generosity are supplied by war and plunder. It is not so easy to induce them to cultivate the land or hope for its annual produce, as to defy the enemy, and gain the honour of a wound; as it is further considered cowardly and spiritless to earn by toil what one may win by bloodshed.

15. While they are not engaged in war, they spend a small proportion of their time in hunting, and the greater part in idleness, indulging in sleep and feasting. All the

most valiant and warlike are totally inactive; and resigning all domestic, religious, and agricultural cares to the women, and elders, and the most feeble of the domestics, enjoy their own repose—a strange inconsistency of temper, that the same individuals should so love indolence and abhor tranquillity! It is the usage of the several states to contribute to their chieftains, voluntarily and individually, of their cattle and crops, what is ostensibly a compliment, while it actually supplies their wants. They feel particularly flattered by presents from neighbouring states, which are offered not only by individuals but by the community. These are favourite horses, massive armour, harness, and necklaces; and we have now taught them to set a value upon money.

16. It is generally known that no cities are inhabited by the German tribes, and that they do not even permit houses to be built in contact. They occupy detached and remote habitations; as the fountain, the plain, or the grove may attract them. They plant their villages, not after our fashion of closely connected houses, but surround their several dwellings with an area, either as a precaution against accidental fires, or through ignorance of architecture. Even the use of hewn stone and roofing tiles is unknown to them; and they employ rough timber for all purposes, irrespectively of artistic effect and decoration. Some surfaces they overlay with so pure and glistening a clay, that it resembles painting and coloured outlines; and they are also in the habit of excavating subterranean grottoes, and over these they lay large heaps of dung, as a shelter from the cold and a store for corn; because they mitigate the severity of winter by places of this construction; and, when an enemy invades them, he can devastate merely the surface of the country, while these secret and buried stores are either unknown, or, as they require to be sought for, escape his vigilance.

17. Their universal costume is the military cloak, pinned with a buckle, or, in its absence, with a thorn; and being with this exception unclothed, they spend whole days beside the blazing hearth. The most wealthy are distinguished by a robe, not unconfined as that of the Sarmatæ and Parthians, but close-fitting and exhibiting the proportions of every limb. They also wear the skins of beasts, the borderers on the river in more simple fashion; but the

inlanders, as having no commercial civilization, more tastefully. They select the animals, and variegate the stripped hides with spots of seal skin, with which the far ocean and unexplored sea supply them. The costume of the women differs nothing from that of the men, except that the women more frequently wear linen garments, and these they dye purple; but they never elongate the upper part of their dresses into sleeves, and leave their shoulders and arms bare; while the higher part of the bosom is also exposed.

18. Nevertheless, conjugal fidelity is strictly observed; and there is no feature of their character which one would more highly commend, for they are almost the only barbarians who confine themselves to a single wife; except a very few, who are solicited for a plurality of alliances, not through sensuality, but for their high rank. It is not the wife who brings a dowry to her husband, but the husband to the wife. Their parents and relatives negotiate and sanction the presents—presents not adapted to feminine refinement, nor to the decoration of a bride; but consisting of oxen, and a harnessed horse, and a shield with javelin and sword. In consideration of these presents the wife is betrothed, and brings in return some arms to her husband. This they regard as their most solemn bond of union, their mystic ceremony, and the invocation of their conjugal deities. And, that the woman may not deem herself exempt from a participation of his heroism and beyond the vicissitudes of war, she is reminded by the preliminary ceremonies of her marriage, that she is coming to share his toils and dangers, and that her sufferings and her fortitude must be like his in peace, like his in war. This is what the yoked oxen, the caparisoned steed, and the present of arms intimate—that thus she is to live, thus to die—that she is receiving what she must resign unsullied and undegraded to her children, what her daughters-in-law are in their turn to receive, and what must be transmitted to her grandsons.

19. They live, therefore, in guarded chastity, vitiated neither by the seduction of public exhibitions, nor by the incentives of revelry. They are alike ignorant—men and women—of clandestine correspondence. The instances of infidelity, for so numerous a population, are very rare; and for these the punishment is instantaneous, and discre-

tionary with the husbands. With her hair clipped, he drives her naked from his house in presence of her relatives, and pursues her with a scourge through the whole village. There is no mercy for prostituted honour. Neither for beauty, nor youth, nor wealth can she procure a husband. There no one smiles on vice; nor are seduction and incontinence termed the fashion of the age. A still better arrangement, indeed, those states observe, where virgins alone are married, and the hopes and wishes of a wife are once for all decided. Thus they receive one husband as they do one body and one existence; that there may be no anticipations in reserve, no ulterior desires; that they may love not so much a husband as a marriage. To limit the number of one's offspring, or to put to death the younger children, was considered a disgraceful crime; and the conventionalities of virtue had more influence there than wise legislation in other places.

20. In every family children grow up in nakedness and neglect to that strength and stature which we wonder to behold. His own mother suckles each of them at her breast; and they are never consigned to servants and nurses. There are no refinements of education to distinguish the master from the slave. They live among the same cattle, and on the same ground, until maturity separates and merit sets a stamp upon the free-born. The sexual intercourse of the youths is long deferred, and their vigour proportionately unexhausted; nor are the girls prematurely married. The same maturity and stature are required. They are united, with an equality of strength, and the children inherit the strong constitutions of their parents. Sisters' children receive the same affection from a maternal uncle as from their father; and some consider this the more inviolable and intimate relationship, and in receiving hostages, make it a stronger claim, on the principle that these relatives hold an influence stronger on the heart and more extensive on the family. His own children, however, are the heirs and successors of each; and wills are never made. In the absence of children, brothers and maternal and paternal uncles are the next in order of succession. The more numerous the relatives and kinsmen are, the more comfortable is old age, for it is no advantage to be childless.

21. To adopt the quarrels as well as the alliances of a

father or relative is regarded as a duty, though they are not irreconcilable or permanent; for even homicide may be compensated by a certain number of oxen and sheep, and the whole family become responsible for the atonement, which is beneficial to the public interest, because private feuds are more dangerous under political freedom. No other people indulge more freely in festivities and hospitality. To exclude any human being from one's house is considered an impiety; and they all entertain with sumptuous fare, according to their respective means. When this fails, the previous host becomes the companion and guide to another hospitable reception; and they repair uninvited to the nearest house; nor does this make any difference; they are received with an indiscriminating welcome. When the rights of hospitality are in question, no man recognizes a distinction between acquaintances and strangers. It is customary to bestow, at his departure, whatever one may ask, with similar license to make a request in turn. They delight in generosity; but they neither give as a compliment, nor receive as an obligation. The intercourse of hospitality is disinterested.

22. Immediately after sleep, which they generally protract till daylight, they bathe, and generally in warm water, as their winter continues through the greater part of the year. After the bath, they take food, each on a separate seat, and every one at his own table. Then in arms they proceed to business, and frequently even to entertainments. To spend the day and night in revelry without intermission is never disgraceful to any; and the quarrels which ensue—as may be expected from their intoxication—are seldom decided by mere invectives; but more frequently by violence and bloodshed. It is at their banquets, however, that they generally deliberate respecting the reconciliation of enemies, contracting family alliances, electing chieftains, and, in fact, concerning peace and war; as if there were no time when the mind is more expanded for ingenuous, or more elevated for lofty thoughts. An innocent and unsophisticated race, they unveil even the secrets of their hearts in the freedom of their merriment; and the thoughts of all are therefore open and undisguised. The subject is resumed on the following day, and the balance between the two periods is made even. They

take counsel when incapable of dissembling, and decide when they cannot be mistaken.

23. Their drink is the liquor of barley or wheat, fermented into a partial resemblance to wine; and the Borderers on the river purchase wine. Their diet is plain, consisting of wild fruits, fresh venison, or sour krout. They satisfy their hunger without cookery or delicacies; but, in relieving their thirst, do not observe the same moderation. If you were to gratify their drinking propensities, by supplying as much as they require, they may be subdued as easily by intemperance as by arms.

24. There is but one species of public exhibition, which is the same in every assembly. The young men who have to undertake the performance, dance naked through drawn swords and pointed lances. Practice produces skill, and skills confers grace. It is not, however, for hire or payment, as their only recompense for their temerity, however dangerous, is the amusement of the spectators. They practise gambling—which one might deem extraordinary—when sober, and as a serious occupation, and with such an indifference to winning or losing, that when all else is lost, they make a last and final throw for their liberty and persons. The loser goes into voluntary slavery, and though stronger and younger, submits to be chained and sold. Such is their perseverance in a fatal habit, which they call honour. Slaves of this class they transfer by barter, in order to free themselves from the obloquy of their victory.

25. They employ their other slaves not after our fashion of distributing certain duties among the whole establishment; for each of them is master of his own house and household; and his master taxes him, as a tenant, in a definite amount of corn, cattle, or cloth, and so far only does the slave yield submission; for the master's wife and family perform all other domestic duties. It is unusual to scourge a slave or punish him by imprisonment and labour; but they frequently put them to death, not by chastisement and cruelty, but under the impulse of anger, as an enemy; with the difference of impunity in the former case. Freedmen are but little superior to slaves; of slight importance to the family, and none in the community, except in those nations who live under a monarchy; for there they are promoted above the freeborn, and even over

the nobility. Elsewhere, the inferiority of freedmen is an evidence of liberty.

26. The exactions of usury and compound interest are unknown, and are thus more effectually prevented than if legally prohibited. The lands are successively occupied by the whole community in proportion to the number of cultivators, and afterwards apportioned among them according to their rank; and the extent of the plains facilitates this distribution. They change their lands annually, and some portions lie fallow; for they never exert themselves to compete so far with the fertility or extent of the land, as to plant orchards, enclose meadows, or irrigate gardens: corn is the only crop expected from the soil. So that they never divide the year into so many seasons as we do. Winter, spring, and summer are understood and designated by name, but of the autumn, the name and the produce are alike unknown.

27. In their funeral ceremonies no ostentation prevails; the only observance is, that the bodies of distinguished men are burned with particular species of wood; but they never crown the funeral pyre with garments or perfumes. Their proper arms in all cases, and in some instances their horses, are thrown upon the fire. The raised sod forms a grave, and they reject the elaborate honours of a lofty monument, as an encumbrance to the dead. Wailings and tears they soon forget; sorrow and regret they are slow to abandon. In woman grief is becoming, in man remembrance. Such are the particulars which we have learned concerning the origin and usages of all the Germans collectively. I shall now describe the establishments and conventionalities of the several tribes, how far they are dissimilar, and what nations migrated from Germany into Gaul.

28. The highest of authorities, the Deified Julius, records that the Gallic interest was originally the more powerful; and it is therefore also probable that they passed over into Germany; for, how slight an obstacle did a river present to deter the several tribes, as they grew strong, from exchanging and appropriating territories hitherto unclaimed and unassigned by any public authority. Accordingly, the Helvetii established themselves between the Hercynian forest and the rivers Rhine and Mayn; and further on, the Boii, both Gallic tribes. The name of the *Boiium* is still

perpetuated, and commemorates the ancient celebrity of the place, though its inhabitants are changed. It is uncertain, however, whether the Aravisci immigrated from the Osi—a German tribe—into Pannonia, or the Osi from the Aravisci into Germany; as they still use the same language and the same national and social customs; because, with an equality of primitive poverty and freedom, there were the same inducements and disadvantages on both sides of the river. The Treviri and Nervii are obtrusively vain of their claim to a Germanic descent; as if they could by this distinction isolate themselves from the infection of Gallic imbecility. The German tribes, the Vangiones, Tribosci, and Nemetes, unquestionably inhabit merely the bank of the Rhine. Not even the Ubii, though they have entitled themselves to the rank of a Roman colony, and prefer to call themselves *Agrippinenses* after the name of their founder, disown their origin; for they originally crossed the river, and after trials of their loyalty, were stationed immediately on the bank of the Rhine, to be a defence, and not as objects of suspicion.

29. Of all these tribes, the most distinguished in valour are the Batavi, who generally inhabit, not the bank, but an island in the river Rhine. Originally a tribe of the Catti, they removed in consequence of a revolution at home, to a settlement where they were to become a portion of the Roman empire. That distinction, with a memorial of their ancient alliance, is still perpetuated; for they are neither degraded by taxation, nor does the tax-farmer grind them down. Exempt from imposts and contributions, and set apart for military service, they are reserved, like arms and weapons for the wars. The nation of the Mattiaci also acknowledge a similar allegiance; for the sovereignty of the Roman people has extended a feeling of respect for the empire beyond the Rhine and over its original frontiers. So that, with a settlement and a boundary of their own upon the bank, they coöperate with us in sentiment and purpose, resembling the Batavi in all respects, except that they are more energetic and spirited, from the nature of their soil and climate. We do not include among the German tribes—though settled beyond the Rhine and Danube—the occupiers of the Imperial farms. The most restless of the Gauls, whose poverty made them adventurous, took

possession of these unappropriated lands; and subsequently, when a boundary was drawn, and the frontier garrisons extended, they are considered an outskirt of the empire and part of the province.

30. Beyond these, the Catti established their nearest settlement, commencing from the Hercynian forest, in a district less level and marshy than the other states into which Germany is extended; for the mountains form a chain and gradually subside, and the Hercynian forest, when the mountain range leaves them, follows the course of its native Catti. The bodies of this people are comparatively hardy, their limbs compact, their countenances fierce, and their energy of mind unusually active. They possess, for Germans, considerable intellect and sagacity. They can elect officers, obey them when chosen, keep their ranks, appreciate opportunities, temporise their attacks, regulate their time, make defences for the night, regard fortune as an accident, valour as a certainty; and—which is a rare attainment, and acquired only by systematic discipline—place more confidence in the general than in the army. Their strength lies exclusively in their infantry, whom, in addition to their armour, they encumber with implements and provisions. Other troops may be seen marching to battle, but the Catti to war. Incursions and skirmishes are infrequent. This—it must be admitted—is a peculiarity of cavalry forces, that they can quickly secure a victory or a retreat; for speed is an approach to cowardice: tardiness of motion is more allied to intrepidity.

31. A custom adopted by other German tribes, as the effect of an incidental and individual bravery, has become with the Catti an universally received habit. When they attain maturity they suffer their hair and beards to grow; and only on the death of an enemy do they divest themselves of a personal costume by which they consecrate and devote themselves to a life of daring. Amid bloodshed and plunder they uncover their faces; and then boast of having made compensation for their birth, and being worthy of their country and their parents. The timid and feeble still retain their deformity. All who make pretension to eminent valour wear, in addition, an iron ring—which, as a sort of chain, is a degradation among that people—until they release themselves by the slaughter of

an enemy. This fashion is a favourite with the majority of the Catti, and at last they grow old, marked by these badges, and conspicuous as well to their friends as enemies. The first charge in the battle is reserved for these men, and with this singularity of aspect they form the van; as they do not, even in peace, assume the gentleness of a milder aspect. None of them has either house or land, or any other interest. Wherever they happen to come, they are entertained; continuing lavish of other's property, and indifferent to their own; until helpless old age renders them unequal to such heroic endurance.

32. The Usipii and Tencteri dwelt next to the Catti on the Rhine, which is now defined in its channel and qualified to become a boundary. The Tencteri, in addition to their ordinary military reputation, are distinguished by their skill in equestrian tactics; nor is the character of the infantry of the Catti higher than of the cavalry of the Tencteri. Such was the example of their ancestors, and its imitation by their descendants. This is the sport of their childhood, the ambition of their youth, and the confirmed practice of their old age. Their horses are bequeathed with slaves, household property, and other rights of succession, and the son receives them, not as other possessions, by seniority, but for courage and superiority in war.

33. The Bructeri were at one time to be found contiguous to the Tencteri; but it is said, that the Chamavi and Angrivarii have since become settlers in the country, after having, with the acquiescence of the neighbouring states, expelled and exterminated the Bructeri, either through hatred of their oppression, the inducement of plunder, or some interposition of the gods in our favour. For they did not even deny to us the contemplation of a battle, in which more than sixty thousand Germans fell, not by the arms and weapons of Rome, but—still more glorious—for our pleasure in the spectacle. May there abide, I pray, and live among these nations, if not an attachment to us, at least a jealousy towards each other! since fortune can grant us no greater blessing, in the emergencies of the empire, than dissension among our enemies.

34. The Dulgibini and Chasuari, and other states of less celebrity, enclose the Angrivarii and Chamavi on the

east. The Frisii form their boundary on the west. The Frisii are called “the greater” and “the less”, according to the relative proportion of their forces. Both these tribes extend along the Rhine, as far as the ocean, and surround also the extensive lakes navigated by the Roman fleets. We have even explored the ocean on that side; and it is a general report, that the columns of Hercules are still in existence: whether Hercules did really arrive there, or we conventionally ascribe to his renown whatever of the magnificent is anywhere to be found. Drusus Germanicus, however, was not deficient in the spirit of adventure; but, the ocean proved an obstacle to all investigation of itself as well as Hercules. Since then none has hazarded the attempt; and it has been deemed the more pious and respectful course, regarding the actions of the gods, to believe than to ascertain.

35. Thus far, we have examined Germany toward the west. To the north it bends in a long curvature. At the very outset, the nation of the Chauci, though commencing from the Frisii, and occupying a region of the coast, is bordered by the frontiers of all the nations which I have treated of, till it bends onward to the Catti. The Chauci not only occupy, but densely inhabit this extensive tract of country. They are the most distinguished of the German tribes, and prefer maintaining their influence by honourable means: without avarice, without oppression, inoffensive and retiring, they provoke no quarrels, and undertake no marauding or predatory expeditions; and the strongest evidence of their valour and power is, that they attain their superiority by other means than violence. They all, however, have arms ready for emergencies, and when occasion requires, a numerous army of men and horses; and even in time of peace, their reputation is still the same.

36. By the borders of the Catti and Chauci, the Cherusci have enjoyed unmolested a long and indolent tranquillity; and this has been rather agreeable than safe; because among the ambitious and powerful, inaction is a mistake. When the trial is one of strength, moderation and integrity become the attributes of the conqueror. And so the Cherusci, once the generous and the just, are now called cowards and fools; while the success of the victorious Catti has passed for wisdom. The Foci, an adjacent people, involved in the ruin of the Cherusci, participate

equally in their adversity, though in prosperity they had held a secondary position.

37. The Cimbri, on the margin of the ocean, occupy the same extremity of Germany, now an inconsiderable state, but of high reputation. Extensive indications of their former greatness are still extant; encampments and circumvallations on both sides of the river, by the dimensions of which, the power and the numbers of the people, and the probable existence of so large an army, may even still be estimated. It was in the six-hundred-and-fortieth year of the existence of our city, that the arms of the Cimbri were first heard of, in the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo; and, if we reckon from these to the second consulship of the Emperor Trajan, the result will be about two hundred and ten years. So long has Germany been in process of subjection. During the course of so long an interval, many losses occurred on both sides. Neither the Samnites, nor the Carthaginians, nor Spain, nor Gaul, nor even the Parthians, so repeatedly awakened us from our security; because the liberty of Germany has more vitality than the monarchy of Arsaces; for, what more than the death of Crassus could the East exhibit against us, when, after the loss of Pacorus, it bowed before Ventidius? But the Germans, after the defeat, or capture of Carbo, Cassius, Scaurus, Aurelius, Servilius Cæpio, and even Cnæus Manlius, have deprived the Roman people at once of five consular armies; and Cæsar, of Varus and his three legions. Nor was it with impunity that Caius Marius in Italy, the Deified Julius in Gaul, and Drusus, Nero, and Germanicus in their own country, defeated them. Subsequently the haughty menaces of Caligula ended in a mockery. Peace then ensued, until, taking advantage of our dissensions and civil wars, they stormed the winter-quarters of the legions, and even aspired to the conquest of Gaul; and, though repulsed again, they have since then suffered triumphs, rather than defeats.

38. The Suevi are now to be considered, whose nation is not, like the Catti and Tencteri, undivided; for they occupy the principal portion of Germany, hitherto divided into distinct tribes and denominations, though they are collectively called Suevi. It is a peculiar fashion among this people to turn back the hair, and collect it into a

knot. In this manner the Suevi are distinguished from the other Germans, and the free-born Suevi from their slaves. Among other nations, either through some relationship with Suevi, or, as frequently occurs, through imitation, it is occasionally seen, but only during the period of youth; while, among the Suevi, they turn back their bristling gray hair, even to old age, and coil it on the crown of the head. The nobility dress it more tastefully. Such is their attention to personal decoration, which, however, is innocent, for it is not with a view to make or inspire love; but they dress themselves for the inspection of their enemies, when going to war, to increase their stature and excite terror.

39. The Semnones represent themselves as the most ancient and noble of the Suevi. The belief of their antiquity is established by their religion. On a certain day all the tribes of the same kindred assemble by proxy in a forest consecrated by ancestral sanctity and immemorial superstition, and there, by the sacrifice of a human victim for the whole community, celebrate the awful preliminaries of their barbarous worship. This grove is invested with an additional sanctity. No man may enter it unless bound with a chain, as an inferior being, and declaring the supremacy of the Deity. If he should happen to fall, he is forbidden to rise or be raised, and must roll out upon the ground. To this centre every religious ceremony has reference, as though the origin of a nation was there, and the Deity, the universal king, with all else in submissive obedience. The prosperity of the Semnones lends confirmation to all this; for they inhabit a hundred cantons, and their belief of their being the head of the Suevi results from their numerous population.

40. Their limited numbers, on the contrary, signalize the Longobardi; because, though surrounded by the most populous and powerful nations, they have protected themselves, not by servility, but by braving the hazard of war. Beyond these, the Reudigni, the Aviones, the Anglii, the Varini, the Eudoses, the Suardones, and the Nuithones, shelter themselves behind the rivers or in the forests; nor have these several nations any noticeable peculiarity, except that they join in the worship of Hertha; that is, Mother Earth; and believe that she interferes in human interests and visits the different tribes. On an island in

the ocean there is a consecrated grove, and within that a sacred carriage, covered with an awning, and permitted to be touched only by a priest. He becomes aware of the presence of the goddess in the shrine, and, with ostentatious reverence, attends her as she is drawn by cows. Then the days are festivals, and the places which she honours by her presence and sojourn scenes of revelry. They neither undertake war nor handle arms: all weapons are laid by unseen; peace and tranquillity are then only known and desired, until the same priest restores the goddess to her temple, now weary of the intercourse of mortals. Then the carriage and the awning, and—if one may consent to believe it—the divinity herself, are washed in an unfrequented lake. The office is performed by slaves, whom the same lake immediately engulfs. Hence the mysterious dread and religious ignorance of the nature of that which they only can witness who are doomed to death.

41. The district of the Suevi extends to the more unexplored regions of Germany. Nearer to us—that I may follow the course of the Danube, as I have already that of the Rhine—lies the state of the Hermunduri, which is loyal to the Romans; and to them alone, therefore, trade is open not merely on the river, but throughout the interior, and in the most flourishing colony of the Rhætian province. They cross the river at all points, and free from inspection; and, while we show to other nations only our arms and military stations, we have thrown open to them, without exciting their avarice, our houses and villas. The Elbe rises among the Hermunduri, formerly a celebrated river, which is now scarcely heard of.

42. The Narisci are settled next to the Hermunduri, and beyond them, the Marcomanni and Quadi. The reputation and power of the Marcomanni are preëminent; and even their territorial possessions, from which they formerly dislodged the Boii, have been the acquisition of their valour. The Narisci and Quadi, too, are not degenerating in spirit. This may be considered, in some sense, a portion of Germany, as far as it is enclosed by the Danube. Among the Marcomanni and Quadi, the illustrious descendants of Maraboduus and Tudrus, their own countrymen, have maintained their sovereignty down to our time; but at present they tolerate foreigners. The power and influ-

ence of their kings, however, depend altogether on the patronage of the Romans. They are assisted occasionally by our troops, but more frequently from our exchequer.

43. The more distant tribes, the Marsigni, the Gothini, the Osi, and Burii, are no less powerful: these dwell upon the far frontier of the Marcomanni and Quadi: and the Marsigni and Burii resemble Suevi in language and costume. The Gallic language proves the Gothini, and the Pannonian the Osi not to be Germans; with the additional fact of their submitting to taxation. The Sarmatæ have imposed a portion of their tribute; the Quadi have exacted the remainder from them as aliens. The Gothini, as a further degradation, work in the iron mines; and all these tribes have appropriated but little of the plain, and occupy the forest-glades and mountain-tops: for, an unbroken range of mountains, beyond which many tribes are settled, cuts off and isolates Suevia: and of these, the nation of the Lygii, developed into several states, is the most widely extended. It will be sufficient to name the most powerful, such as the Arii, the Helveconæ, the Manimi, the Elysii, and Nahanarvali. A grove consecrated to the ancient religion is shown among the Nahanarvali. The officiating priest appears in female costume, but they describe their gods to be—as the Romans would understand them—Castor and Pollux. Their divine power is analogous, and their name Alci. There are no idols, no trace of foreign superstition; and yet, they worship them as brothers and youths. Then, the Arii, fierce beyond their strength, in which they surpass the tribes already enumerated, improve the effect of their ferocity by artifice and the hour. Their shields are black, and their bodies tattooed; they choose the darkest nights for their engagements; and inspire dread by the mere terror and gloom of their ghostlike armies, as no enemy withstands their strange and almost supernatural aspect; for the eye, in every battle, is the first subdued. Beyond the Lygii, the Gothones live under a monarchy, rather more restricted than the other German States, but not without pretensions to liberty. Farther on, by the ocean, are the Rugii and Lemovii. The distinguishing peculiarities of all these nations are, round shields, short swords, and veneration of their kings.

44. Beyond these, the States of the Suiones, immediately

on the ocean, are formidable on the sea, in addition to their men and arms. The fashion of their galleys is peculiar in having a prow at each end, forming a stem always ready for putting ashore. They are neither worked by sails, nor have they oars regularly attached to the sides. The rowers are unfixed, as upon some rivers, and moveable to different points, as occasion may require. Wealth is also respected among them; and, accordingly, some one individual governs them, without any limitations or modified claims to obedience. The possession of arms is not indiscriminately permitted, as among the other Germans; but they are locked up in care of a keeper, who is even a slave; for the ocean prevents any sudden invasions of enemies. Troops, also, when unemployed, are disposed to become mutinous; and it is, of course, the policy of kingcraft to entrust with arms neither the noble, nor the free, nor the emancipated.

45. Beyond the Suiones, there lies another sea, motionless, and almost stagnant, by which it is believed that the terrestrial globe is bounded and enclosed on this side; because the last beams of the setting sun linger so brightly till its rising, that they outshine the stars. Credulity further adds that a rushing sound is heard; and the shapes of Deities, and the halo round their heads are visible. Thither, and no farther—if the belief be true—does the universe extend. The nations of the *Æstyî*, then, are bordered by the Eastern shore of the Suevic Sea. Their usages and costume are those of the Suevi, while their language is nearer to the British. They worship the mother of the Gods, and wear figures of wild boars, as an emblem of their superstition. This amulet supersedes arms and all other protections, and carries the votary of the Goddess safely even through his enemies. The use of iron is unusual; that of clubs universal. They cultivate corn and other crops more industriously than might be expected from the habitual indolence of the Germans. They even explore the sea, and are the only people who gather amber, which they call *glese*, in the shallows and along the sea-shore. But they have not, as savages, inquired or ascertained its properties, or the origin of its formation; it even lay unnoticed for a long time among other refuse of the sea, until our refined civilization gave it celebrity. It is useless to the finders, gathered in a rough state; and

exported unmanufactured, and they receive its value with astonishment. It may, however, be perceived to be an exudation from timber; because some reptiles and even insects are visibly imbedded, which were first entangled in the viscous liquid, and afterwards enclosed within it, as the substance became hard. I should suppose, therefore, that there are in the islands and continents of the West luxuriant forests and groves, whose juices, extracted and melted by the rays of a tropical sun, flow into the nearest sea, and are cast by the force of tempests upon the opposite shores; as in the regions of the far East, where the balsam and frankincense exude. If the qualities of amber be tested by the application of fire, it blazes like a torch, and emits a thick and odorous flame, and then becomes glutinous, like pitch or resin. The nations of the Sitones lie adjacent to the Suiones. Resembling them in other respects, they differ in one peculiarity, that women are the predominant sex. So far have they fallen not merely from freedom, but even below slavery. These are the limits of Suevia.

46. I am undecided whether to class the nations of the Peucini, the Venedi, and the Fenni, among Germans or Sarmatæ; though the Peucini, whom some authorities call Bastarnæ, resemble Germans in language, costume, habitations, and dwellings. Personal neglect is the character of the community; and laziness, that of the nobility. By matrimonial connexions they are degenerating into the habits of the Sarmatæ. The Venedi have adopted many of their customs; for they infest, by their depredations, all the mountain forests that rise between the Peucini and Fenni. These are, however, more properly identified with Germans, because they build houses, and wear shields, and pride themselves on their practice and speed in pedestrianism; all which habits differ from those of the Sarmatæ, who pass their lives in wagons or on horseback. The barbarism of the Fenni is incredible; their poverty appalling: they have no arms, no horses, no homes; herbs are their food; skins are their clothing; the ground is their bed; their only resource is their arrows, which, for want of iron, they point with bones. The same mode of hunting supports men and women, for these accompany them on all occasions, and claim a share of the game. Their children are protected from wild beasts and the

storm only by the shelter of the woven branches. This is the retreat of the young, and the retirement of the old. And yet they deem this more happy than to groan over the tillage of the ground, to toil in building, and to suffer the alternate hopes and fears of risking their own and others' fortunes. Indifferent alike to gods and men, they have attained that transcendent state of not having even a wish to gratify.

The other traditions are mythological: that the Helusii and Oxiones have the faces and voices of men, with the bodies and limbs of wild beasts: but this, unsubstantiated as it is, I shall leave undecided.

THE LIFE
OF
CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA,
BY C. CORNELIUS TACITUS.

1. THE fashion of the age, indifferent as it is to its cotemporaries, does not, even in our times, forget the habit, so prevalent among the ancients, of transmitting to posterity the deeds and virtues of distinguished men; whenever any great and noticeable merit overcomes and supersedes that common failing of humble and powerful nations—a blindness and jealousy towards moral greatness. But among the ancients, while the achievement of memorable deeds was an easy and more obvious course, all who were most eminent for talent were led, impartially and disinterestedly, by the mere recompense of a self-approving conscience, to perpetuate the remembrance of merit. Besides, they generally considered a record of their own lives, rather as a proof of confidence in their own integrity, than an assumption of superiority; nor, in the cases of Rutilius and Scaurus, did it detract from their credit, or supply matter of reproach: to such an extent is merit most truly appreciated in those times when it is most naturally called forth. Now, on the contrary, I have to entreat indulgence, when intending to write the memoirs of a man, whose life is past; and this I should not have solicited, were I not to enter upon a period so vicious and discouraging to merit.

2. We read that, when Pætus Thrasea and Priscus Helvidius were respectively praised by Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio, it was considered high treason; and that not merely the authors themselves, but their books, were persecuted, the triumvirs being entrusted with a commission to have the works of the most distinguished of literary characters burned in the comitium and the forum. They believed, of course, that by those fires the opinions of the people, the freedom of the senate, and the sympathies of

mankind could be effaced; for they had moreover banished the teachers of philosophy, and driven into exile every liberal science, in order that nothing respectable might anywhere be found. We did, certainly, exhibit convincing evidence of our endurance; and, as a former generation beheld the acme of liberty, so did we witness the climax of slavery, when all intercourse of tongue and ear was suppressed by the inquisitions. We should have lost the faculty of memory too with that of speech, if it were as optional with us to forget as to be silent.

3. It is only now that our confidence is reviving, and though, at the earliest dawn of this most happy æra, the Emperor Nerva has blended systems hitherto incompatible—monarchy and liberty, and Nerva Trajan is every day promoting the prosperity of the empire, and “public security” has assumed not merely the expression of hopes and aspirations, but the confidence and realization of those wishes, still, through the frailty of human nature, remedies operate more slowly than diseases; and, as bodies grow slowly and perish instantaneously, so it is more easy to crush talent and learning than to revive them. There is a fascination too in indolence, which steals upon us; and the inaction, which we at first abhorred, becomes at last a passion. How should it be, when, in the course of fifteen years,—an important interval in human life,—many have perished by various accidents, and all the most eminent, by the tyranny of the emperor? A few of us still outlive not merely others, but—if I may so forcibly express it—even ourselves, after the subtraction, from the middle of our lives, of so many years, during which we have advanced from youth to age, and from age to the utmost limit of departing life; still I shall never regret having written—no matter in how humble and unpolished a style—a record of our past slavery, and an acknowledgment of our present blessings. In the meantime, this book, devoted to the memory of my father-in-law, Agricola, shall find either approbation or indulgence in its claim to be regarded as a tribute of affection.

4. Cnæus Julius Agricola, a native of the old and celebrated colony of Forumjulii, had his grandfathers on both sides proctors of the emperors,—an office which confers equestrian rank. His father, Julius Græcinus, of senatorial rank, was celebrated for his proficiency in eloquence and philosophy, and by these qualifications entitled himself to

the enmity of Caius Cæsar; for he was called upon to impeach Marcus Silanus, and was put to death for his refusal. His mother was Julia Procilla, a lady of more than ordinary chastity, and, reared by her tender care and affection, he passed his childhood and youth in the acquirement of every liberal accomplishment. In addition to his own virtuous and uncontaminated disposition, the circumstance of his having, from his childhood, Massilia as the scene and guide of his studies, preserved him from the allurements of the vicious; for there Grecian civilization and provincial frugality were blended and intimately united. I remember that he was in the habit of saying, "that in his youth he would have pursued the study of philosophy more enthusiastically than suited a Roman and a senator, had not his mother's judgment counteracted his ardent and ambitious inclinations". His lofty and aspiring mind naturally coveted the beauty and splendour of an exalted and glorious pre-eminence with more enthusiasm than discretion. Reflection and time eventually checked him, and—which is the great difficulty—he drew from philosophy the lesson of moderation.

5. His earliest essay in military service he made in Britain, under Suetonius Paulinus, an active and prudent general, and was selected for an appointment on his staff. But Agricola did not, like other young men who turn military life into a scene of dissipation, nor in a spirit of indolence, avail himself of his tribuneship for sensual enjoyment, absence from duty, or professional ignorance, but to become acquainted with the province, to make himself known to the army, to derive instruction from the experienced, to emulate the most distinguished, to solicit no service through ostentation, to shrink from no duty through timidity, and to act with zeal and diligence. Never at any other time was Britain more agitated or distracted. The veterans were assassinated, the colonies destroyed by fire, and the armies intercepted. At that time they fought for their lives, though subsequently for victory; and, though all these operations were directed by the wisdom and authority of another, and though the chief responsibility and the credit of recovering the province belonged to the commander, still they imparted skill, experience, and encouragement to the young officer, and a passion for military distinction took possession of

his mind—a passion unsuited to the times, when the estimation of illustrious characters is illiberal, and a high reputation stands in equal danger with an infamous notoriety.

6. On his return hence to the city to take office at home, he married Domitia Decidiana, a lady of high rank; and this alliance proved an honour and a help to him in his competition for promotion. They lived together, also, in the most perfect harmony by reciprocal affection and a mutual preference of each other. In an amiable wife, however, there is proportionately as much more merit, as there is more room for censure in a bad one. The allotment of the Quæstorship gave him Asia for his province, with Salvius Titianus as proconsul; and by neither of these temptations was he seduced from his principles; although the province was rich and ready to encourage dishonesty; and the proconsul, predisposed to the full gratification of his avarice, would have purchased a mutual concealment of guilt, by any extent of indulgence. There he was blest with a daughter—a hope and a consolation—for he had lost an infant son, previously born. Subsequently, he passed peaceably and unobtrusively the interval between his Quæstorship and Tribuneship of the Commons, and even the year of his Tribuneship, understanding the spirit of the times under Nero, when apathy was wisdom. Of the same character was the tendency and the reserve of his Prætorship; for no judicial duties fell to his lot. He arranged the public games and the pageantry of the office, upon a system of moderation and efficiency, approaching more successfully to popularity, as he refrained from extravagance. Then, appointed by Galba to review the offerings in the temples, he made it appear, by his careful investigation, that the republic should feel no sacrilege but that of Nero.

7. The succeeding year inflicted a painful calamity upon his affections and his family: for Otho's fleet, cruising in a disorderly manner, while committing hostile depredations upon Intemelii—a district of Liguria—murdered Agricola's mother on her own estate, and plundered the lands and a considerable portion of the property, which had been the real object of the murder. Agricola, setting out accordingly, to fulfil the duties of filial affection, was overtaken by the intelligence that Vespasian had seized

on the imperial authority, and immediately joined his party. Mucianus was directing the preliminaries of the monarchy, and protecting the welfare of the city, while Domitian was still very young, and merely presuming on the impunity resulting from his father's elevation. He appointed Agricola, who had been sent to hold the levies, and had performed the duty with honour and ability, to the command of the twentieth legion, which had been slow in coming over to their new allegiance; as soon as their previous commander was represented to have acted seditiously; and because they were intractable and formidable to the Consuls' lieutenants also. As the Prætor's lieutenant had not succeeded in subduing them—either in consequence of his own temper or that of the soldiers—so, when appointed at once as his successor and avenger, by a most singular exercise of moderation, he preferred making it appear that he had found them obedient, rather than that he had made them so.

8. The Governor of Britain at that time was Vettius Bolanus, who adopted a milder course than suited so uncivilised a province; and Agricola checked his own powers and enthusiasm from proceeding to excess, trained to obedience, and skilful in blending the practical with the honourable. Britain soon afterwards received as governor the ex-consul Petilius Cerialis. His merits had now found room for display. At first, however, Cerialis shared with him merely hardships and dangers; but eventually his glory also. He frequently gave him the command of a portion of the army for trial, and occasionally, after success, of larger bodies; but Agricola never boasted of his achievements for his own aggrandisement; but, as a subaltern, attributed his success to his commander and leader; and thus, by his intrepidity in performing services, and his modesty in speaking of them, he escaped jealousy and attained renown.

9. On his return from the command of the legion, the Deified Vespasian elevated him to patrician rank, and then to the government of Aquitania; a most honourable appointment, from its diplomatic importance and the prospect of a consulship for which he intended him. The general belief is, that minds of a military stamp are deficient in acuteness; because the judicial administration of the camp is careless and superficial, and operating in most cases by

force, never employs the subtleties of the forum. Agricola, however, by his natural judgment, could act with ease and regularity even among professional lawyers; besides, his hours of business and relaxation were distinct. While the courts or tribunals claimed his attendance, he was dignified, unremitting, austere, and more frequently merciful. When business was concluded, he played the magistrate no longer; he laid aside his gravity, his airs of state, and severity of exaction; nor, which is most uncommon, did his affability interfere with his authority, or his austerity repel affection. To speak of honesty and self-denial in such a character, would be an insult to his merit. He never courted even celebrity, to which worthy men are frequently partial, by a display of his superiority or by artifice. Avoiding rivalry with his colleagues, and misunderstandings with the proctors, he considered it no distinction to overcome them, and a degradation to be insulted. He was continued in that government for nearly three years, and recalled for the immediate anticipation of a consulship, accompanied by a general expectation that Britain would be given to him as a province, not from any suggestions of his own to that effect, but because he was considered competent. Rumour is not always in the wrong: sometimes it is judicious. While consul, he betrothed his daughter, a girl of high expectations, to me, who was then young, and after his consulship, gave her in marriage, when he was immediately appointed to the government of Britain, with the additional dignity of Pontifex.

10. The topography and inhabitants of Britain, though treated of by many writers, I shall describe anew, not with a view to rival their accuracy or talent, but because it was then that the country was first subdued; and, therefore, those details which former historians have eloquently discussed, before they were yet fully ascertained, shall now be recorded on the evidence of facts. Britain, the largest of the islands which the knowledge of the Romans comprises, extends, in territory and climate, towards Germany on the east, and Spain on the west, and looks towards Gaul on the south. Its northern regions—no land opposite—are washed by a boundless and open sea. Livius and Fabius Rusticus, the most accomplished writers among the ancients and moderns respectively, have com-

pared the shape of all Britain to an oblong shield or a battle-axe; and this is really its outline on this side of Caledonia, whence the idea has been extended to the whole; but an extensive and irregular tract of land, jutting from the utmost extremity of the shore, is narrowed into the form of a wedge. The Roman fleet, taking at that time its first cruise round this coast of the far sea, ascertained that Britain was an island, and at the same time discovered and subdued islands hitherto unknown, which they call the Orcades. Thule was also seen in the distance, previously hidden by the snows of winter; but they represent the sea as stagnant and impracticable to rowers, and not, as may be expected, agitated even by the winds; because, I suppose, lands and mountains—the cause and source of tempests—are fewer here, and the deep mass of unbroken water is more slowly moved. To investigate the phenomena of the ocean and the tides is not the object of this work, and many others have treated of them. I shall make but one observation, that nowhere does the sea prevail more extensively, that it flows in many currents and various directions, and that it ebbs and flows not merely to the shore, but runs inland and forms creeks, and penetrates even among the hills and mountains, as in its own bed.

11. However, as may be expected in the case of savages, it has not been ascertained who were the original inhabitants of Britain, whether natives or immigrants. Their physical peculiarities are diversified, and hence inferences are deducible; for the red hair and muscular limbs of the inhabitants of Caledonia indicate a German origin. The dark complexion, and the generally curled hair of the Silures, and the position of Spain in front, encourage the belief that the ancient Iberians had come over and colonized this district. The nearest to the Gauls resemble them; either from the continued effects of their origin, or from the projection of the lands toward each other, an identity of climate has influenced their physical character. On a general estimate, however, it is probable that the Gauls took possession of the adjacent coast. Their religion also may be detected in the general belief of their superstitions, and their language is not very different. They evince the same intrepidity in provoking dangers, and the same timidity in evading them when present.

The Britons, however, exhibit a more haughty courage, as no continuance of peace has conciliated them; for we are informed that the Gauls also were successful in war; but, apathy with inaction subsequently supervened, when they lost their valour as well as their liberty; which was also the case of such of the Britons as were first subdued, while the others remain as the Gauls formerly were.

12. Their strength lies in their infantry; but some tribes fight in chariots. The more noble acts as driver; and his retainers are combatants. They were originally subject to kings; but are now divided by factions and animosities among their chieftains, nor is there any circumstance more favourable to us in collision with the most powerful nations, than their want of unanimity. A combination of two or three communities, to repel a common danger, is unusual; so that, when they resist separately, they are all subdued. Their atmosphere is darkened by constant showers and clouds, without any intensity of cold. The length of daylight exceeds its duration in our latitude. The nights are lustrous, and, in the farthest portion of Britain, so short, that the close and the dawn of day can be distinguished only by a short interval. They assert "that, if no clouds interposed, the sunshine would be visible through the night; that it never sets or rises, but merely moves across; because, the remote and level regions of the Earth, where the shadow is low, do not cast their dark shade vertically, and the darkness ranges below the sky and stars". The soil is genial for crops, and prolific, with the exception of the olive, the vine, and other natural products of a warm climate. They ripen slowly and grow rapidly; and both are the results of the same cause, the abundant moisture of the ground and atmosphere. Britain produces gold, silver, and other minerals; the profits of our victory. The ocean also yields pearls, but they are cloudy and discoloured. Some believe that the gatherers are deficient in skill; because in the Red Sea they are torn alive and breathing from the rocks, while in Britain, they are merely collected as they are cast ashore; but I should rather suppose that the quality of the pearls is inferior, than that we are deficient in avarice.

13. The Britons themselves cheerfully submit to conscriptions, taxes, and all other imperial imposts, provided injustice be withheld; but this they will not patiently

tolerate, being as yet merely reduced to obedience, and not to slavery. For this reason the Deified Julius, the first of all Romans who entered Britain with an army—though he scared the natives by a successful engagement, and took possession of the shore—can be considered merely to have discovered, but not appropriated, the island for posterity. Then came the civil wars; the arms of our first men were turned upon the republic, and a long disregard of Britain ensued even during the peace. This the Deified Augustus called “policy”; Tiberius, “the ordinance”. It is quite certain that Caius Cæsar did form some intentions of invading Britain, and would have executed them, had he not been precipitate in his measures, and fickle in abandoning them, and had not his ambitious attempts upon Germany been frustrated. The Deified Claudius was the originator of the exploit, transporting his legions and allies, and admitting Vespasian to a participation in the enterprise, which was the beginning of his rising fortunes. Nations were subdued, princes made captive, and Vespasian introduced to the Fates.

14. The first of the consular governors was Aulus Plautius, succeeded by Ostorius Scapula, both eminent in war; and the southern part of Britain was gradually reduced to the condition of a province. A colony of veterans was also planted, and some of the states were ceded to King Cogidunus—who continued steady in his allegiance to our time—according to the old and long established policy of the Roman people, to make even kings the agents of slavery. Subsequently Didius Gallus secured the acquisitions of his predecessors, by erecting a few forts on the frontier, whereby the reputation of having extended his government was acquired. Veranius succeeded Didius, and died within a year. During the two following years, Suetonius Paulinus conducted his government successfully by the subjection of tribes and the establishment of garrisons, by which he was encouraged to attack the island of Mona, on pretence of its supplying forces to the insurgents, and exposed the country behind him to a surprise.

15. For the Britons, relieved from their fears by the absence of the governor, began to discuss the hardships of slavery, to compare their wrongs, and arouse their indignation by commenting on them. “That there was nothing

to gain by submission, except that still more intolerable exactions would result from their patient endurance: that they had formerly but one king for each nation: that two were now imposed, one of whom, the governor, tyrannized over their lives; and the other, the proctor, over their property: that the disagreement and unanimity of their officers were equally fatal to their subjects: that the servants of the one and the officers of the other, combined insult and injury: that nothing was exempt from their rapacity and incontinence: that in war the braver man was the spoiler; but now, their houses were plundered, their children captured, and conscriptions enforced by cowards, as if the only thing they knew not, were to die for their country. For, how few, were the foreign soldiers, if the Britons made up their levies! It was thus that the German states had cast off the yoke; and yet they were defended merely by a river, not by the ocean: that they had their native land, their wives, and parents, while the others had but avarice and sensuality as motives for war: that they must retire as the Deified Julius had done, if they could, themselves, but rival the valour of their ancestors, and not be dejected by the issue of one or two engagements: that more energy and firmness should animate the oppressed. That even the gods now looked with compassion on the Britons, when they kept the Roman general and his army confined upon another island: that they were now—which was the great difficulty—their own selves taking counsel; and further, that it was more dangerous to be detected in designs of this nature, than to dare their execution.

16. Mutually exasperated by these and similar suggestions, they took up arms unanimously, under the command of Boadicea, a lady of royal descent—for with respect to sovereignty, they make no distinction of sex—and attacking the soldiers dispersed among the forts, after storming the garrisons, they descended upon the colony itself as being the seat of slavery; and revenge and triumph spared no form of cruelty known to barbarians. And had not Paulinus, on hearing of the revolt of the province, immediately hastened to the rescue, Britain would have been lost: but the result of one battle reduced it to its former subjection, though several, whom the consciousness of their treason, and the more immediate dread of the

governor drove to desperation, still continued in arms. When he, though faultless in other respects, behaved haughtily to those who capitulated, and with an unusual severity, in retaliation for his personal wrongs; Petronius Turpilianus was put in commission, in expectation of his being more indulgent; and, as he was unacquainted with the offences of the enemy, and proportionately placable to their repentance, after suppressing the late disturbances, he attempted nothing further and resigned the province to Trebellius Maximus. Trebellius, more indolent, and of no military experience, governed the province by the peculiar gentleness of his administration. The barbarians too had now learned, by the seductions of luxury, to be forgiving; while the intervention of civil dissensions afforded a plausible excuse for his apathy. He was troubled, however, by a mutiny, when the soldiers, accustomed to active service, became insubordinate from idleness. Trebellius, after escaping the fury of the army by flight and seclusion, afterwards, with dishonour and degradation, resumed a precarious authority; and they formed a sort of compromise, the army for impunity, the general for his safety; and so the mutiny ended without bloodshed. Neither did Vettius Bolanus, as the civil war still continued, trouble the Britons by any assertion of his authority. The same inaction toward the enemy, and the same contumacy in the camp continued, with the difference that Bolanus being inoffensive, and detested for no vices, had acquired popularity instead of authority.

17. But, when Vespasian had assumed possession of Britain with the rest of the world, the commanders were competent, the troops efficient, and the hopes of the enemy faint; and Petilius Cerealis in the first instance, inspired terror by attacking the state of the Brigantes, which is reckoned the most populous of the whole province. Several skirmishes ensued, and sometimes not without bloodshed; and he subdued or overcame a considerable portion of the Brigantes. Though Cerealis would have eclipsed the diligence and reputation of any other successor, Julius Frontinus, an eminent man, discharged his onerous duties with equal ability, as far as circumstances permitted, and subdued the powerful and warlike tribe of the Silures, and prevailed over the physical disadvantages of his position as well as the heroism of his enemies.

18. When Agricola landed at midsummer, he found Britain in this state, and the war prosecuted to this point of success; when the troops, under the impression that hostilities were suspended, were devoting themselves to careless repose, and the enemy to the improvement of their opportunity. A short time before his arrival, the state of the Ordovices had cut off an entire battalion of cavalry, quartered on their frontiers; and the province, thrown into excitement by this prelude, and being predisposed for war, either sanctioned the example, or waited to ascertain the temper of the new governor. Then, although the summer was far advanced, the troops dispersed through the province, and the repose of the season anticipated by the soldiers—circumstances of delay and difficulty to one preparing the commencement of a war—and, though the majority deemed it better to have the assailable positions guarded; yet Agricola resolved to confront the danger, and, concentrating the picked companies of the legions and a small force of the allies—as the Ordovices would not venture down into the plain—he led up his troops, and took a prominent position himself, in order that the others may derive confidence from an equal participation of the danger; and exterminating almost the whole tribe, being also aware of the necessity of following up his success, and that the whole expedition would be influenced by the prestige of its commencement, he resolved to reduce to submission the island of Mona, from the occupation of which I have already mentioned that Paulinus was recalled by the general revolt of Britain; but, as may be expected in unpremeditated movements, ships had not been provided; and so, the ingenuity and perseverance of the commander effected a landing. The picked men of the allies—to whom the fords were known, and that national expertness in swimming by which they guide themselves, their arms, and their horses—he relieved of all their baggage, and sent them across so suddenly that the enemy, who had been anticipating a fleet, or a flotilla, and an embarkation, were astounded, and believed nothing insurmountable or impregnable to men who came in such a fashion to invade them. Peace being accordingly solicited, and the island surrendered, Agricola acquired a distinguished and high reputation; because, when assuming the command of his province—a time which other men spend in pageantry and official ceremonies—toil and danger

had been his choice. Nor did Agricola avail himself of his success for purposes of display, or speak of the submission of the conquered as an expedition, or a triumph, or even consummate his operations with a laurelled dispatch, but, by the mere disavowal of his merit enhanced his reputation; as men calculated the scope of these anticipations under which he suppressed the mention of such important services.

19. Acquainted, however, with the dispositions of the province, and taught by the experience of others, that little advantage could be gained by arms, when oppression followed, he resolved to eradicate all provocations of rebellion. Beginning with himself and his own retinue, he first restricted his own household, which in most cases is no less difficult than the control of an entire province. No public business was entrusted to freedmen or slaves; nor did he promote the soldiers by personal interest, or on the recommendation and request of the centurions; but believed the most competent likely to be the most faithful. He discovered everything; but did not punish in all cases. To trifling offences he adapted his indulgence, and proportioned his severity to the more important, nor did he always insist upon punishment, but was satisfied by penitence; and appointed to offices and public situations such as were not likely to offend, in preference to condemning them, after they had transgressed. He modified the increase of subsidies and taxation by impartiality of assessment and the abolition of all those devices for private emolument, which were felt more oppressive than the public imposts: for they were driven to the mockery of attending at their own granaries, which were locked up, and purchasing their own corn, and selling it at a stated price. Tedious journeys to remote districts used also to be enjoined, so that the states had to transport their produce from the more convenient to distant and inaccessible stations; until what might have been abundant to all, became profitable to a few.

20. By the reform of these abuses in his first year, he acquired a favourable character for peace, which, from the neglect or connivance of his predecessors, used to be no less formidable than war. But, when the summer came round, concentrating the troops, he remained constantly on duty, commending regularity, and punishing the dis-

orderly. He selected in person the ground for his encampments, and explored the estuaries and forests, and at the same time allowed the enemy no repose from sudden incursions and devastations. Then, after he had sufficiently quelled their spirit, he again offered them the allurements of peace, by showing mercy. In consequence of these measures, many states, which had theretofore maintained terms of equality, surrendered hostages and abandoned their hostility, and were enclosed by forts and garrisons, more judiciously and carefully, than any previous accessions of new territory in Britain, that had submitted without compulsion.

21. The succeeding winter was employed in the most beneficial arrangements, because, in order that an unsettled and uncivilized people proportionately disposed to war, may be trained by amusements to peace and inaction, he afforded private encouragement and public assistance to the building of temples, squares, and houses, by commending the active, and reproving the indolent, and so, an honourable emulation operated as a compulsion. In addition to this, he educated the sons of the chieftains in all liberal accomplishments, and estimated the natural talent of the Britons above the literary taste of the Gauls, so that they who had hitherto rejected the Roman language now became ambitious of its eloquence. Thence also arose the popularity of our costume, and the general use of the toga, and they gradually advanced to the refinements of dissipation—the piazzas, and baths, and elaborate entertainments—and this, among an ignorant people, was called “civilization”, while it was really an element of slavery.

22. The third year of his operations brought new tribes into notice; when all the tribes as far as the Taus—the name of an estuary—were devastated: and by this alarm the enemy were so dejected, that they did not venture to molest the army, though distressed by the inclemency of the weather, and an opportunity was afforded for erecting additional fortresses. Persons of experience used to remark that no commander had ever more judiciously availed himself of favourable positions, and that no fortress erected by Agricola was either forcibly taken by the enemy, or abandoned by capitulation or flight. Their sallies were unintermitting, for they were secured against

a tedious blockade by their annual stores, so that the winter passed in security, and they severally protected themselves, while the enemy were baffled, and consequently in despair, because they had been accustomed to compensate the summer's losses by the successes of the winter, and were now defeated in winter and summer alike. Agricola was never selfish in appropriating the honour of the achievements of others. Centurion or præfect always found him an impartial witness of his services. He was considered, in some cases, too severe in his censures; but his austerity to the guilty was equal to his courtesy with the meritorious. No vestige of his resentment ever lingered in his mind: no dissimulation and silence were to be dreaded; and he thought it more ingenuous to give offence than entertain hostility.

23. The fourth summer was spent in securing the territories which he had overrun, and had the spirit of the troops and the prestige of the Roman name permitted, a limit would have been fixed within Britain. For the Clota and Bodotria, carried a long way inland by the tides of the opposite seas, are separated by a narrow isthmus, which was then defended by garrisons, and the whole southern division was retained, by removing the enemy as if into another island.

24. In the fifth year of his operations he made the first voyage in ships, and subdued several tribes previously unknown, by many successful engagements, and garrisoned that part of Britain which faces Ireland, more through hope of conquest than dread of invasion, for Ireland, situated between Britain and Spain, and lying conveniently on the Gallic sea, would have consolidated the most powerful portion of the empire by important reciprocal advantages. Its extent, relatively to Britain, is less, but larger than the islands of our seas. Its climate and soil, and the dispositions and habits of the natives, differ little from those of Britain, while its approaches and harbours are better known, through the intercourse of traders. Agricola had protected one of its princes, exiled by civil dissensions, and kept him, ostensibly through friendship, to serve his own occasions. I have frequently heard from him that Ireland could be brought into, and kept in submission, by one legion and a few allied troops. This would have been an advantage even regarding Britain, if

the Roman arms surrounded them on all sides, and liberty were in a manner removed from view.

25. During the summer in which he entered upon the sixth year of his government, extending his views to the states lying north of the Bodotria—as an insurrection of all the more distant tribes, and the enfilading of the roads by the enemies' troops, were apprehended—he explored the harbours with his fleet, which was first employed by Agricola as a portion of his force, and followed him with an imposing effect, as the war was kept going both by sea and land; and frequently the infantry, and cavalry, and marines in the same camp, associating promiscuously and convivially, recounted their several exploits and adventures; and now, “the wilds of the mountain and forest”, now, “the hardships of the storm and the billows”, here, “the land and the enemy”, there, “the subject ocean”, were compared with soldierlike exaggeration. “The view of the fleet also”, as it was stated by the prisoners, “astounded the Britons, as though the last refuge of the vanquished were cut off, when the recesses of their sea were penetrated”. The native tribes of Caledonia, resorting to resistance and arms, with extensive preparations and exaggerated reports—as is usual respecting the unknown—“of their having made the first attack”, assailed the forts, and spread terror by acting on the offensive; and the timid, with an affectation of prudence, advised “a retreat behind the Bodotria, and to evacuate the country rather than be expelled”; when he ascertained, in the mean time, “that the enemy would come down in several bodies”. And, to avoid being enclosed by superior numbers, with their knowledge of the localities, he also advanced with his army in three divisions.

26. When this became known to the enemy, suddenly changing their purpose, they made an attack in one body, by night, upon the ninth legion, as being the weakest; and having slain the sentries, during sleep and consternation, forced an entrance. They were now fighting within the camp, when Agricola, ascertaining the direction of the enemy from the scouts, and following their track, ordered the swiftest of the cavalry and infantry to charge the rere of the assailants, and a shout to be raised by the whole army. Then at day-break the standards flashed upon them, and the Britons were scared by the two-fold danger,

while the confidence of the Romans revived, and, assured of their safety, they fought on for victory. They even sallied forth offensively, and a sanguinary skirmish ensued at the pass of the gateway, until the enemy were dislodged; while the two Roman armies emulously exerted themselves; on the one side that they may seem to have given, on the other, not to have needed, assistance: so that, had not the fens and woods sheltered the fugitives, the war would have been concluded by that victory.

27. Elated by the perseverance which achieved, and the glory which attended this victory, the army exclaimed “that nothing was inaccessible to their valour, that Caledonia should be explored to its recesses, and the limits of Britain reached at last by a progress of successive victories”. Those, also, who were previously timid and circumspect, became now, after the event, confident and presuming. This is the great injustice of the terms of military command, that though all arrogate to themselves the merit of success, reverses are attributed to one. The Britons however, believing that it had resulted, not from their superiority, but from a lucky accident and the skill of their commander, abated nothing of their presumption; but armed their young men, removed their wives and children into places of safety, and ratified a combination of the states by meetings and sacrifices; and, with feelings thus exasperated on both sides, they withdrew.

28. In the course of the same summer a cohort of Usipii, levied in Germany, and sent over to Britain, attempted a strange and memorable deed. Having massacred the centurion and soldiers who had been interspersed among their companies to disseminate discipline, and were regarded as their model and instructors, they embarked on three galleys, taking the pilots with them by force. When one of these escaped, and the other two were suspected, and therefore put to death, they sailed on, to the astonishment of the beholders, before the intelligence was communicated. Then drifting about hither and thither, and engaging in battle with several parties of Britons defending their property, sometimes victorious, and again defeated, they were eventually reduced to such an extremity of privation, that they devoured the weakest of their number, and afterwards such as fell by lot; and sailing round Britain in this fashion, losing their ships by mismanage-

ment, and being taken for pirates, they were intercepted, first by the Suevi, then by the Frisii; and there were some of them, whom, after being sold in the course of traffic, and brought by the transfers of purchasers to our bank of the Rhine, the recital of so strange an adventure rendered notorious. Early in the summer, Agricola was afflicted by a domestic calamity in the loss of his son, born in the preceding year: and this affliction he bore, neither with ostentatious fortitude, like many strong-minded men, nor with the feminine weakness of tears and lamentation, and in his sorrow war came as a relief.

29. Sending on his fleet, therefore, to excite a wide and indefinite alarm by devastating several places, and with a light-armed force, in which he had incorporated the most valiant of the Britons, and such as were tested by long fidelity, he arrived at the Grampian hills, which the enemy had already invested. For the Britons, never dispirited by the result of the late engagement, and anticipating vengeance or slavery, and taught at length that their common danger could be fended off by unanimity alone, had called into action the powers of all the states by embassies and confederacies. More than thirty thousand armed men were now available, and still all the youths were pouring in, and even those whose age was fresh and vigorous, distinguished in the field, and bearing their several trophies. On this occasion, a chieftain named Galgacus, eminent among the rest in valour and rank, is said to have addressed the assembled throng, clamouring for battle, to the following effect:—

30. “Often as I review the motives of the war, and the urgency of our position, I feel a proud anticipation that this present day, and your unity of action, will be the dawn of freedom to all Britain. For we are all novices in slavery: we have no territory behind us; nor is even the sea secure, while the Roman fleet hovers round us; so that, resistance and war, creditable to the brave, are also safest for the timid. The late engagements, in which we strove, with alternating success, against the Romans, depended for hopes and means upon our hands, because we, the noblest nation of all Britain, and therefore dwelling in its deepest recesses, and not even beholding the shores of bondsmen, have kept our eyes untainted by the infection of tyranny. Dwelling upon the utmost limits of the earth

and freedom, our very remoteness, the last retreat of heroism, has hitherto defended us. Now, the extremity of Britain is exposed, and the unknown is ever indefinitely grand. There is now no nation beyond us: nothing save the billows and the rocks, and the Romans, still more savage, whose tyranny you will in vain appease by submission and concession. The devastators of the earth, when the land has failed to suffice their universal ravages, they explore even the ocean. If an enemy be wealthy, they are covetous; if he be poor, they become ambitious. Neither East nor West has contented them. Alone, of all men, they covet with equal rapacity the rich and the needy. Plunder, murder, and robbery, under false pretences, they call 'Empire', and when they make a wilderness, they call it 'Peace'.

31. "Nature has ordained, that children and relatives should be the dearest to us all. These are severed from us by conscriptions, for slavery in distant lands. Our wives and sisters, though they escape forcible violation, are insulted under pretexts of friendship and hospitality. Our possessions and properties they consume in taxes, our crops in subsidies. They wear out our bodies and strength amid stripes and degradation, in clearing roads through fens and forests. Slaves born to bondage, are once for all sold, and gratuitously maintained by their masters; but Britain is every day purchasing, and every day feeding her slavery, and, as in a household, the newest slave is the mockery of his fellows; so, in this ancient family of the world, we, new and worthless as we are, are claimed for destruction. For we have no farms, or mines, or harbours, for the improvement of which we may be retained. The valour, also, and spirit of subjects is unwelcome to their rulers, and distance and seclusion are regarded with a jealousy proportioned to their safety. Abandoning all hope of indulgence, therefore, take courage at last, as well those who value their safety, as they to whom glory is most dear. The Trinobantes, beneath the standard of a woman, had power to burn a colony, to storm a camp, and, had not their triumph degenerated into negligence, to cast off the yoke: and should not we, fresh and unsubdued, who have now, not for the first time, to win our freedom—should not we, at our first onset, prove what men Caledonia is keeping in reserve?

32. "Do you believe that the Romans exhibit a valour in the field, proportionate to their insolence in peace? Exalted by our feuds and quarrels, they improve the errors of their enemies, to the credit of their own troops, which, as they are composed of the most different nations, a reverse of fortune will disband, as prosperity will keep them united: except you suppose, that Gauls and Germans, and—I blush to add—many of the Britons, who, though they may lend their lives to foreign despotism, have been longer in arms than in slavery, are bound to them by loyalty and sentiment. It is all intimidation and fear, slender bonds of unity; and, once you sever these, they who cease to tremble, will begin to hate. Every incentive to victory tells for us. No wives animate the Romans; there are no parents ready to reprove their flight; and most of them have no native country, or at least another one than this. A few of them, as they strayed about in coward ignorance, and gazed around upon the sky, the sea, the forest, and all the unfamiliar scene, the gods have delivered into our hand, as it were imprisoned and enchained. Let no vain pageantry dismay you; no glitter of gold and silver, that neither shields nor wounds. Within the very lines of the enemy we shall find our own bands—Britons will feel our cause their own: the Gauls will look back upon their former freedom: other Germans will forsake them, as the Usipii recently abandoned them. They have nothing formidable to fall back upon—empty fortresses, colonies of old men, borough-towns disaffected and distracted between refractory subjects and tyrannical governors. On one side, you have a general and an army; on the other, the taxes, the mines, and all the penalties of slavery; and to perpetuate these for ever, or, to avenge them now, awaits decision on this plain. Therefore, as you march to action, remember your ancestors—think of posterity!"

33. With joyful excitement they applauded this address, and in barbarian fashion, with songs, and murmurs, and discordant exclamations. The bands and flashing arms now came in view, on the advance of the most daring, and the lines were forming, when Agricola, deeming it advisable still further to animate the soldiers, though they were in high spirits, and scarcely confined within the trenches, addressed them as follows:—"Fellow-soldiers, the

eightth year is now passing, since, by the valour and fortune of the Roman Empire, and by your own loyalty and energy, you have conquered Britain. Throughout so many expeditions, so many battles—whether heroism against the enemy, or perseverance and toil in surmounting physical impediments were called for—I have neither been dissatisfied with my men, nor you with your commander. Having consequently overstepped the limits of former governors and former armies, we now occupy the utmost limit of Britain, not merely with our name and reputation, but with our arms and encampments. Britain has been discovered and subdued. Many a time, on the march, when fens, mountains, and rivers tried your perseverance, have I heard the bravest of you exclaim, ‘When is the enemy to show himself? When shall the battle come?’ They are coming now, hunted from their lairs: your wishes and your valour have now an open field; all things lean toward the conquerors; all tells against the vanquished. For, though the performance of so long a march, the treading of the forests, the crossing of the estuaries, are creditable and glorious for an advancing army; still, our present greatest advantages would become our most serious dangers on a retreat; because we have not the same acquaintance with the localities, or the same supplies of provisions—nothing but our hands and arms, and on these our whole dependence. For my own part, I have been long convinced that a retreat is unsafe, both for troops and commander. An honourable death, therefore, is preferable to a life of degradation; and security and glory stand together; nor should it be discreditable to fall even in this verge of the earth and creation.

34. “If nations unknown, and an army hitherto untried were marshalled against us, I would urge you by the examples of other armies. As it is, recount your own successes; question your own eyes. These are the men whom you defeated last year by a shout, when they treacherously attacked a single legion at midnight: they are the most timid of all the Britons, and therefore so long in existence. As, in traversing the forests and glades, the fiercest animals confront you in the consciousness of their strength, while the timid and harmless take flight even from the noise of an advancing host; so, the most valiant of the Britons have long since fallen, and the remainder are a

multitude of the helpless and the cowardly, whom you have found at last, not because they awaited you, but because they are the last and have been overtaken. They have placed their cause and—in the agony of their terror—their bodies, where they now stand, and where you may achieve a glorious and imposing victory. Have done for ever with the campaign; crown its fifty years with one great day, and satisfy the Republic, that the army cannot be charged either with a continuance of the war, or a pretext for its renewal”.

35. While Agricola yet spoke, the enthusiasm of the soldiers began to show itself, and a strong excitement followed the conclusion of his address, and they flew at once to arms. In this ardour and impetuosity, he so arranged them, that the infantry auxiliaries, amounting to eight thousand, formed a strong centre, and three thousand cavalry were dispersed upon the wings. The legions took their position outside the entrenchments—an arrangement which would be a remarkable distinction to the victory, if they succeeded without loss to the Romans, and a resource if they retreated. The British army had so taken their stand upon the rising ground—for show and intimidation—that the van formed upon the plain, and the rest, in close array, rose in a manner line above line, on the acclivity, and the charioteers and cavalry, with cries and evolutions, occupied the intervening space. Then Agricola, as the enemy were superior in numbers, apprehending a charge in front and on the flanks, expanded his ranks, and, though his lines would apparently be too far extenuated, and many recommended that the legions should be brought up, feeling more sanguine in hope and undismayed by difficulties, he sent back his horse, and placed himself on foot before the standards.

36. At the commencement of the action, the contest was maintained from a distance. The Britons, with long swords and narrow shields, firmly and dexterously parried and repelled the missiles of our troops, while they showered upon them a dense volley of their own; until Agricola called upon three cohorts of Batavians, and two of Tungri, to bring the encounter to the sword and closing fight; which was familiar to them from their experience of the service, and inconvenient to the enemy, who carried small shields and unwieldy swords. For the swords of the

Britons, being unpointed, admitted of no collision or hand-to-hand encounter. When the Batavians began to repeat their blows, to wound them with the bosses of their shields, to cut their faces, and driving back those who opposed them on the flat, to advance up the hill, the other cohorts, joining in the attack through rivalry and enthusiasm, cut down all who met them, and through their anxiety for victory, many were left fainting and unharmed. The troops of cavalry in the mean time took flight, and the charioteers entangled themselves among the fighting infantry; and, though they had spread a consternation not yet abated, still, they were impeded by the close ranks of the enemy and the unevenness of the ground; and the aspect of such a battle bore no resemblance to a cavalry engagement, since, after a long and inconvenient stand, they were carried along with their horses, and frequently the unguided chariots and the affrighted horses without riders, ran down those who crossed and met them, wherever their terror directed them.

37. And now, the Britons, who had yet taken no part in the action, and were posted on the hill-tops, and looking with listless contempt upon our unequal numbers, began to descend, and enclose the rere of the conquerors, and would have succeeded, had not Agricola, apprehending this manœuvre, opposed their progress with four battalions of cavalry, reserved for emergencies; and the more spiritedly they came on, the more actively did he disperse and put them to the rout. Thus, the design of the Britons recoiled upon themselves, and the wings of the combatants brought up from the van by the general's command, fell upon the enemy's rere. Then a strange and awful scene presented itself upon the open plain. They pursued, they wounded, made prisoners, and these, when others came, they put to death. And now, according to their several dispositions, companies of armed men would flee before smaller numbers; while others, unarmed, would voluntarily charge forward and rush upon their death. Arms, and bodies, and mangled limbs lay everywhere, and the ground ran blood; sometimes, too, fury and courage inspired even the vanquished. When they approached the woods, they rallied, and cut off the nearest of their pursuers, unprepared and ignorant of the locality. So that, had not Agricola, who was present everywhere, ordered

the strong and light cohorts to enclose the ground like a battue; and, where thickets interposed, a division of dismounted cavalry; and on horseback, where space was open, to scour the woods; some blow would have been struck through their confident security. But, when they saw us pursuing again in good order and close array, they resumed their flight, not in companies as before, nor waiting for each other, but one by one, and mutually avoiding contact, they repaired to distant and devious retreats. Darkness and fatigue put an end to the pursuit, when fully ten thousand of the enemy had fallen, and of our troops but three hundred and sixty, among whom was Aulus Atticus, the præfect of a cohort, borne forward among the enemy by youthful temerity and the impetuosity of his horse.

38. The night of course was a joyful one to the victors, amid their exultation and booty; but the Britons wandering about amid the mingled lamentations of men and women, removed the wounded, called up the unhurt, forsook their houses, and in their despair wantonly set them on fire, selected hiding places which they instantly abandoned, mutually concerted plans, and then parted company; were sometimes driven to despair, and more frequently goaded to desparation by the sight of their loved relatives, and it was fully ascertained that some vented their fury, as if in mercy, upon their wives and children.

The following day disclosed more broadly the features of the victory; the silence of desolation all round; the lonely hills; the smoking ruins in the distance; and no human being visible to the scouts. When these had been sent in all directions, and no definite traces of the retreat were found, and it was ascertained that the enemy had no rendezvous, and, as the summer was now closing, the war could not be extended, he called back the army to the territory of the Horesti. Receiving hostages there, he commanded the præfect of the fleet to cruise round Britain: supplies were issued for the purpose, and a name of terror preceded the expedition. He quartered the infantry and cavalry, himself, in their winter stations, retiring by easy marches, in order that the minds of the strange tribes may be awed by the mere slowness of his progress. At the same time, the fleet, with fair weather and fair reputation, stood into the harbour of Trutulæ, and thence along the southern

coast of Britain, the whole squadron returned to their moorings.

39. This progress of events, though not set forth by any decorative description in the despatches of Agricola, as Domitian's habit was, he learned with satisfaction in his countenance and jealousy in his heart. He had a secret feeling, that his own late counterfeit triumph over Germany was looked on as a mockery, when he had slaves purchased in the market, whose dresses and hair were fashioned like captives, and now, that a great and genuine triumph, where so many thousand enemies had fallen, was celebrated with sincere applause. This was his most serious apprehension, that the name of a private individual should be exalted above the Emperor's: that it was vain to have forensic learning, and the celebrity of peaceful accomplishments scared into obscurity, while another appropriated his military renown: that other merits might in some degree be more easily disowned; but the qualifications of an able general were truly royal. Tortured by such anxieties, and indulging in his seclusion, which was a symptom of some fell intention, he deemed it most advisable at present to suppress his hatred, until the zenith of his fame and the admiration of the army should subside, for Agricola was still governor of Britain.

40. He therefore commanded, that "triumphal honours, and the distinction of a triumphal statue, and all other substitutes of a triumph", enhanced by highly complimentary language, should be voted in the senate, and that a belief should also be encouraged, that the province of Syria, vacant by the death of the ex-consul, Atilius Rufus, and usually reserved for men of the highest reputation, was intended for Agricola. It was a general belief that a freedman, whose duties were confidential, was sent to Agricola, and brought with him the patent by which Syria was entrusted to his administration, with instructions, that if he were in Britain, it should be handed to him; and that this freedman, having met Agricola in the strait of the ocean, returned to Domitian, without having even spoken to him: whether the report were true, or invented and devised to suit the character of the Emperor. Agricola had, in the mean time, handed over the province to his successor, in peace and security, and that his entry may not be marked by notoriety or a numerous

escort, he declined the compliments of his friends, and arrived in the city by night: by night also he visited the palace, as had been directed, and being received with a careless salutation and no conversation, joined the crowd of menial courtiers. But, in order to moderate by other merits the influence of his military renown, so unpopular among the indolent, he resigned himself altogether to quietness and retirement, unpretending in his equipage, affable in conversation, and associating with merely one or two friends: so that the majority, who generally judge of great men by their display, when they saw and observed Agricola, missed the external indications of his greatness, and few could understand his motive.

41. During this interval, he was frequently impeached in his absence before Domitian, and in his absence as frequently acquitted. The cause of his danger was not any offence or complaint of any injured party, but the Emperor's jealousy of merit, his personal greatness, and the most dangerous class of enemies, eulogists. A political crisis, however, ensued, which forbade Agricola to remain unnoticed: so many armies in Mœsia, Dacia, Germany, and Pannonia, lost by the imprudence or weakness of their commanders: so many officers with so many cohorts routed and taken: and not merely the frontiers of the empire and the possession of the bank, but the winter quarters of our armies and our occupation of the country, in danger. Thus, when loss followed loss in quick succession, and the year was marked throughout by tragical misfortunes, Agricola was called forward by the voice of the nation to the command, while every one contrasted his energy, his resolution, and military experience, with the incompetence and cowardice of the others. It is quite certain that the ears of Domitian were wounded by these observations; when the most sincere of his freedmen, through affection and loyalty, and the most treacherous through malice and jealousy, were urging on the Emperor, who was naturally disposed to mischief. Thus, by his own merits as well as by the failings of others, Agricola was impelled percipitately even into glory.

42. The year was now approaching, when he was to obtain the allotment of Asia or Africa; and, as Civica had been recently put to death, Agricola was at no loss for a warning, nor Domitian for a precedent. Some persons,

who were acquainted with the intentions of the Emperor, accosted Agricola, and officiously inquired “if he intended to proceed to his province”; and, mysteriously at first, recommended, “retirement and repose”; but, eventually, and without further reserve, by persuasion and menaces, brought him to Domitian; and he, with a ready hypocrisy, and an affectation of haughtiness, listened to the request of the applicant; and, when he had granted it, submitted to receive his acknowledgments, and evinced no shame for the insulting nature of the favour. He did not, however, grant to Agricola the stipend usually offered to a proconsul, and bestowed in some cases by himself: whether offended that it had not been solicited, or from a feeling that he would appear to have purchased what he had forbidden. It is the character of the human heart to hate those whom we have injured; but, Domitian’s temper was prone to spite; and though inflexible in proportion to its darkness, was disarmed by the equanimity and caution of Agricola; as it was not by arrogance, nor any ostentation of ideal freedom, that he induced his glory and his ruin. Be it known to those, whose habit is to applaud a defiance of recognized principles, that the existence of great men under tyrannical monarchs is not impossible; and, that obedience and moderation, if combined with diligence and energy, may attain that celebrity, to which many ascending by dizzy paths, but with no profit to the state, have become memorable by an exalted death.

43. The close of his life was afflicting to us, regretted by many, and even by foreigners and strangers not regarded with indifference. The commons, too, and the multitude here, who interest themselves in the concerns of others, called frequently at his house and spoke of him in the forum and private companies; nor, when Agricola’s death was announced, was there any that rejoiced or forgot him soon. A prevalent report “that he died by poison”, aggravated their concern. I should not venture to authenticate any assertion on the subject; but, throughout all his illness, the principal freedmen and the most confidential physicians visited him more frequently than accorded with the etiquette of royalty, when it pays visits by proxy: whether through concern or curiosity. It was a fact however, that on the last day, the momentary transitions of his failing strength were reported by relays of mes-

sengers, while none believed that intelligence which he should regret to hear, would be so expeditiously conveyed. Still he assumed the semblance of sorrow in his demeanour and countenance, as he was now relieved from his hatred, and more capable of dissembling his joy than his fears. It was known for certain, that when Agricola's will was read, in which he had named Domitian joint-heir with his excellent wife and most affectionate daughter, he expressed his satisfaction, as if it resulted from a reverential choice. So blinded and depraved was his reason by incessant servility, that he never understood, that none but an unprincipled monarch could be named as an heir by a good father.

44. Agricola was born on the ides of June, in the third consulship of Caius Cæsar. He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, on the tenth day from the kalends of September, in the consulship of Collega and Priscus. Should posterity be interested to know his personal appearance, he was rather symmetrical than tall, with no austerity in his countenance, but a prevailing mildness of expression. You would at once believe him to be a virtuous man, and readily admit his greatness; and, although cut off in the season of his vigour, he spent a long life, as far as reputation was concerned. All the real blessings, which are centred in merit, he had enjoyed to the full; and, honoured as he was by consular and triumphal distinctions, what beside had fortune to bestow? He was never vain of excessive wealth, and was blessed with a gentlemanly competency. Survived by his wife and daughter, he may be esteemed actually happy in having escaped while his rank was unshaken, his fame at the zenith, his relatives and friends still safe—the vicissitudes to come. For, although to extend his life to the light of this most happy generation, and to witness the reign of Trajan, was that which he sought from fate and prayed for in our hearing, still it was a great consolation for his untimely death to be spared the sight of those latter days, when Domitian, not as before, after intervals and breathing times, but by a single and continuous assault, drained the vitals of the state.

45. Agricola never saw the senate house besieged, the senate hemmed in by armed troops; nor the murder of so many consulars, the banishment and flight of so many

ladies of the highest rank, mingled in one general ruin. As yet, Carus Metius was distinguished by an exceptional triumph, the instigations of Messalinus echoed only within the Castle of Alba, and Massa Bebius was still under an impeachment. But presently, our hands dragged Helvidius to the dungeon; the sight of Mauricus and Rusticus sent a shudder to our hearts: Senecio shed upon our hands his innocent blood. Nero, however, averted his eyes, and commanded, but did not witness, deeds of cruelty; while the bitterest element of our sufferings under Domitian was to look and to be looked upon, while our sighs were registered, and that savage eye and that flush, by which he had secured himself from shame, enabled him to mark the ghastly terror of so many human beings. But you, Agricola, happy not merely in the celebrity of your life, but also in the seasonable moment of your death—as they report who were present at your dying words—met your death with firmness and resignation, as though, to the utmost of your power, you would grant the innocence of the Emperor; and yet, for me and your daughter, besides our sorrow for a parent lost, it is an additional regret, that it was not our lot to attend upon your illness, to minister to your sinking strength, to enjoy unrestrained your looks and your embraces. We should, at least, have received your instructions and advice, to engrave them deep upon our hearts. This is our regret: this our pain: for, by the accident of so long an absence you were lost to us four years before. Everything unquestionably, best of parents, was amply provided for your honour by the attention of the fondest of wives: yet you were followed to the tomb by fewer tears; and your eyes, looking their last upon the light, saw that some were absent.

46. If there be a home for the spirits of the just: if, as wise men love to think, the souls of the great are not annihilated with the body, calmly may you rest, and lead us, your family, from unmanly sorrow and feminine complaint, to the contemplation of your virtues, which it is a desecration to weep over and regret! May we honour you rather by our admiration and undying praises, and, if our nature fail not, by imitation! This is true reverence; this the duty of all who are dearest. This I would also suggest to his wife and daughter: so to revere the memory of a father and a husband, as to dwell in thought

upon his deeds and words, and remember the fame and features of his mind rather than his person; not that I believe we should object to portraits formed of marble or bronze; but that, like human features themselves, all copies of those features are transitory and perishable, while the outlines of the intellect can never die; and this you can seize and delineate, not with uncongenial substance and art, but by your own feelings. All that we loved of Agricola, all that we valued, lives, and shall live, in the memories of men, in the infinity of time, in history; for, oblivion shall engulf many of elder days, undistinguished and obscure; while Agricola shall live on, chronicled and transmitted to posterity.

NOTES ON GERMANY.

1. *Germania*. The name *Germania*, according to the most probable etymology, is derived from the Teutonic *Ger* (guerre) and *Mann*, “a warrior”. The more modern appellation *Allemagne* is deduced—like the name *Allemanni*—from *alle* and *mann*, implying a mixture of the natives of several countries. The territory here alluded to, was properly called *Germania Transrhenana*, to distinguish it from the *Cisrhenana*, which lay between the Scheldt and the Rhine.

“Germany, in the age of Tacitus, was divided among a number of independent tribes, differing greatly in population and importance. Their country, overspread with forests and morasses, afforded little arable land, and the cultivation of that little was inconstant. Their occupation were principally the chase and pasturage, without cities or even any contiguous dwellings. They had kings elected out of particular families; and other chiefs, both for war and administration of justice, whom merit alone recommended to the public choice. But the power of each was greatly limited; and the decision of all leading questions, though subject to the previous deliberation of the chieftains, sprung from the free voice of a popular assembly. The principal men, however, of a German tribe fully partook of that estimation which is always the reward of valour and commonly of birth. They were surrounded by a cluster of youths, the most gallant and ambitious of the nation—their pride at home—their protection in the field, whose ambition was flattered, or gratitude conciliated, by such presents as a leader of barbarians could confer. These were the institutions of the people who overthrew the empire of Rome, congenial to the spirit of infant societies, and such as travellers have found among nations in the same stage of manners throughout the world. And, although in the lapse of four centuries, between the ages of Tacitus and Clovis, some change may have been wrought by long intercourse with the Romans, yet the foundations of their political system were unshaken”. Such are the observations of Mr. Hallam on ancient Germany, and contain a concise epitome of the leading facts deducible from the Essay of Tacitus.

Montibus. Those of Bohemia and the Carpathian.

Sinus. Literally “a bend, a curvature”, is applied in a secondary sense to a remote projection or extremity of land or sea, the lap or fold of a garment—*κολπος*—the bosom.

Abnobaë. A part of the *Schwartz Wold* or Black Forest.

2. *Indigenas*.—*ἀντοχθόνας. ἀντιγενεις.*

Adversus. The ancients believed that while proceeding north, they

were going up hill, and *vice versa*. *Aversus* and *abstrusus* have been suggested as substitutes for this reading.

Terrä editum. The Goddess Hertha (Earth).

Tres filios. Like the Ion, Dorus, and Æolus of the Greeks, and the Shem, Ham, and Japhet of the Hebrews.

3. *Carmina*.—*Barditum*. We find this usage among all nations in their infancy of civilization: the Norsemen, the Provençals, Greeks, Welsh, Irish, etc., etc. The more correct term is *barritus*, from the German *baren*, “to shout”.

Fractum. Virgil applies this epithet to the sound of a trumpet and the humming of bees. It may, perhaps, express what we understand by the musical term “*staccato*”.

Inscriptos. The art of writing was communicated to the Gauls by the Phocæans, from Ionia, who colonised Marseilles.

4. *Sitim æstumque—frigora—inediam*. Of these terms, the first and fourth refer to *solo*; the second and third to *cælo*.

5. *Gloria*. Literally signifies “brightness, splendour”, from *γλαυρος*, from *γλαω*.

Irati Dii. Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, 1–678:

————— “Let none admire
That riches grow in hell: that soil may best
Deserve the precious bane”.—————

Perinde. This word evidently implies a comparison; and the omission in the text has been supplied by various conjectures; *ac nos* is most generally suggested, *i. e.* “they do not value them as highly as we”. The most obvious and natural meaning of the sentence is that given above, “they do not estimate them as highly as one would naturally anticipate from their scarcity”. Adopting this view, we supersede the necessity of any verbal ellipsis.

Serrati—Bigati. The former are “milled” coins, serrated on the edge. The latter bear a *biga* (two-horse chariot) in relief.

6. *Frameas*. The term *pfrieme*, a modification of this form, is still in circulation.

Cassis—galea. The former was an undress helmet, made of leather (*καταιτυξ*)—the other worn in full armour.

Cuneos. The invention of this manœuvre is variously attributed to Philip of Macedon and Demetrius Poliorcetes.

Scutum reliquisse. As the Spartan mother said to her son, handing him his father’s shield, *ἦ τὰν ἦ ’πὶ τᾷς*.

7. *Sacerdotibus*. Among all nations, and in all ages, the strength of spiritual despotism has been proportioned to the ignorance of the community, and is perpetuated conventionally long after its foundations are undermined by knowledge

Deo imperante. This belief is still entertained by civilized Europeans in the nineteenth century.

Lucis. The proverbial derivation of *lucus a non lucendo*, is a mistake. It comes simply from *lucendo*, and signifies "a consecrated grove or bower", in which sacrificial fires were lighted.

8. *Veledam.* This Demigoddess resided in a place now called Spillenburg.

Auriniam. The name—otherwise more correctly written *Alrunia* or *Alurinia*—signifies a Sybil or Prophetess, from *all-runen* "to be omniscient".

9. *Mercurium.* The names of Deities here mentioned are those of analogous Roman Gods. Woden is probably indicated by the name of Mercury, Thor representing Mars, and the Moon Isis.

Signum. Literally "a foot-print", from *ἵχνοϛ*. Hence, a sign or emblem of anything.

Secretum illud. This conception of the Deity resembles that of Zoroaster. Compare Juvenal, writing of the Jews. "Nil præter nubes et cœli numen adorant".

10. *Virgam.*

"The grisly priest, with murmuring prayer,
A slender crosslet formed with care,
A cubit's length in measure due;
The shaft and limbs were rods of yew,
Whose parents, in Inch-Caillaich, wave
Their shadows o'er Clan-Alpine's grave".

Lady of the Lake, iii. 8.

Committunt. The trial by battle continued throughout the middle ages in Europe, until superseded by a more enlightened jurisprudence, deduced from the Pandects of Justinian, and is still resorted to in some Asiatic countries.

11. *Noctium.* Compare Genesis, i. 5, and Leviticus, xxiii. 32. *Nox* from the Sanskrit, *nakta*, *नृक्ष*.

Ut placuit. *Ut* with a perfect tense is an adverb of time.

Flagitia abscondi. The court of the Areopagus were in the habit of meeting by night and in the open air, seated on stones placed in a circle—*ἱερὸν ἐνὶ κύκλῳ*—that the criminal may neither be seen by, nor under the same roof with, the judges.

Pars mulctæ. The origin of the law of deodands.

13. *Pater.* Sanskrit, *pitar*, German, *vater*.

Toga. This was originally an Etruscan garment called in Greek *τήβεννος*, and analogous to the Greek *himation*, which was square, and worn round the body in the manner of a Scottish plaid. The toga differed from the *himation* in being semicircular, and hanging in more ample masses (*tabulata*); and was eventually used only in full dress on

public occasions, having been gradually superseded, for ordinary costume, by the more convenient Grecian dress, the *læna*, *pænula*, etc.

Nomen, i. e. *nocimen*, literally “a mark of distinction”.

Profligant. This verb literally signifies to “push out of the way, to render unsteady”, and hence, when applied to operations of difficulty and danger, “to bring nearly to completion”. Livy, iii. 50, *rem Romæ profligatam*, “that the movement was far advanced in Rome”.

Utro and *ultra* are properly ablatives of an absolute adjective, *ulter*. *Utro* implies an act on the part of the individual least likely to do it; as in Livy, i. 5, *ultra accusantes*, when the aggressors become accusers.

Sudore. Sanskrit *uda*, whence, also, *udus*, ὑδωρ, *unda*. The same propensity is attributed by Herodotus (v. 6) to the Thracians, and prevails among savages generally.

15. *Mos est*. The origin of Civil Lists.

16. *Ignis*. Sanskrit *agnih*, ἱπνοσ.

Picturam. The process here described appears to have been a rude attempt at fresco painting; and the material probably a composition of silica and clay—the decomposed felspar used in potteries, and commonly known as “Cornish clay”.

17. *Sagum* was a short cloak, a modification of the Grecian *Chlamys*, which was clasped on the left shoulder, and was suffered to hang loose, or drawn round at pleasure.

Veste. Sanskrit *vasas*, ἔσθησ.

Pellibus. The ignorance of some commentators here is amusing: *pelles quis tribuat piscibus?* exclaims one in virtuous indignation. The practice of spotting skins is still continued in the preparation of ermine.

Brachia. From the hand to the elbow—“the forearm”—*lacertos*, from the elbow to the shoulder, “the humerus”.

18. *Nova*. Sanskrit *navah*, νῆος.

Comatur is a verb of the third conjunction, and derived from *con-emo*, to “arrange, adorn”. It is applied exclusively to the female toilette—Terence, *Heaut.* ii. 2.

Bellorum. This and the following words happen to form a hexameter line. This accident occurs elsewhere in Tacitus and Livy.

Digna. May perhaps be taken absolutely in the sense of “unstained, unsullied”, or in connection with *quæ* following.

Septæ pudicitîâ, would appear a preferable reading to the more common *septâ*.

Literarum secreta. This phrase is variously understood to signify, either a knowledge of alphabetic reading and writing, or an acquaintance with literature—the mythological poetry of the time being rather an unsuitable study for young ladies—or, the habit of clandestine amatory correspondence. Of these interpretations the last is more in accord-

ance with the context; though the first is the most obvious meaning of the words, considered *per se*.

Domo. Sanskrit *damas*, δῶμος, δέμω.

Nemo enim illic. Tacitus is here alluding to the ethics of contemporary fashionable life in Rome.

Agnatis. Signifies here all children junior to the heir.

20. *Uberibus*. Sanskrit, *udas*, ὀνθαρ. This term is generally employed with reference to inferior animals; *mamma* being the phrase appropriated to women

Pares validæque, a zeugma—constantly used by Tacitus—for *pariter validæ*.

Si liberi, etc. These testamentary regulations appear to have suggested the *Salique law*, established under Clovis, the policy of which, in excluding females, was to maintain the obligation of military service.

21. *Recipitque*. This has been sometimes understood to mean that the whole of the bereaved family participate in the compensation, and are appeased; but the true and idiomatic sense of the word is that given in the version above.

Hospes. Literally signifies, like ξένος, “a stranger”; and hence both “host” and “guest”—originally identical with *hostis*.

22. *E somno*. Like ἐκ and ab, *e* signifies “immediately after”, ἐκτῶν πρόσθεν δακρῶν (Xen. Cyr. i. 4), “after recent tears”.

Plerumque in conviviis consultant. Compare Herodotus, i. 133. “They (the Persians) deliberate, while intoxicated, on the most important concerns; and whatever decision they attain, the host at whose table they have been consulting, submits on the following day for their sober consideration. If it still meets their sanction when sober, they adopt; if not, they reject it.

Salva ratio. Is a technical phrase, signifying “an account properly balanced” between debtor and creditor.

23. *Frumentum*. Originally *frugmentum*, “fruit, or vegetable produce” in general; but ultimately came to signify the most important — “corn”

24. *Infestas*. Literally means “pointed towards”; and, only in a secondary sense, “hostile”. *Festus* is properly an obsolete participle of *fero*.

Tantâ lucrandi, etc. The North American Indians, under a similar fascination, have been known to play for their own scalps. It was only during the Saturnalia that the Romans were allowed to gamble; but the law was openly evaded, and hazard became an aristocratic recreation all the year round.

Discriptis. “Distributed” is a reading more suited to the context than “descriptis”, which signifies merely “copied into writing”. It appears that in the numerous households of the Roman nobility each slave had a particular duty assigned to him, to the exclusion of all other cares.

Cætera. Supplies the exception implied in "*hactenus*", and signifies all duties beyond that limit.

Impunè is sometimes here understood as relating to *inimici*, which we find above (c. 12) cannot be correct. It was the slave, and not the enemy, whose death was unresented.

Momentum. (*i. e. movimentum*) signifies any additional weight necessary to make an even balance; hence "influence, importance". We use the term "weight" in the same secondary sense.

26. *Fenus.* Identical with Greek *φενος*, of which we find the form *ἀφενος* in Homer.

Servatur. In the sense of "guarded against", is a literal translation of *φυλασσεται*.

Arva. Observe the distinctive uses of *arvum*, *ager*, *solum*, *terra*—1. land under cultivation; 2. a farm, the land surrounding a house or city; 3. the surface of the earth; 4. dry land in general, as distinguished from *cælum* and *mare*.

27. *Gravem.* Sanskrit *gurus*, *ग्रावृष*, *βαρυνς*, *brutus*.

Lacrimas. *δακρυμα*, Sanskrit, *asru*.

Hercyniam silvam. This great forest included the Schwartz Wald (Black Forest), Spressart Wald, and Franken Wald.

29. *Batavi.* Their principal towns were *Lugdunum*, now Leyden; *Noviomagus*, Nymegen; *Arenacum*, Arnheim; and *Trajectum*, Utrecht.

Chattorum. The name of this people literally signifies "cats": the title being probably commemorative of the *duriora corpora*, and *stricti artus*, mentioned below.

Tantum in usum. A standing army.

Decumates agros. Were a sort of "crown lands"; the rents of which, called *decumæ* ("tenths"), were a species of quit rent, and formed a portion of the public revenues.

Audax. *ἀνθαδης*—*Paupertas impulit audax*.—HORACE.

Prosequitur. This verb properly signifies to escort or accompany one, on the commencement of a journey.

Diem. Sanskrit, *dyu*; hence Latin, *diu*.

Certa. Literally "visible"; hence "distinct, definite, certain"—participle of *cerno*. *Neque certa fulgent sidera nautis*.—HORACE.

31. *Nec nisi.* Among the North American Indians no one was considered a warrior until he had killed an enemy.

Annulum. The iron ring, emblematic of a bond or obligation, was generally worn by pilgrims and persons under penance, until their vow, whatever it may be, was fulfilled.

Nam ne. It has been suggested to read *quanquam* here for *nam*; as the reason, introduced by the conjunction, appeared not to accord with the proposition to be accounted for; but the sense will proceed consecutively enough, if we understand *nam* as referring to *omnium* and *semper*.

32. *Equi traduntur.* As among the Huns of old, and the Bedouin Arabs of all times.

Superbia does not signify "pride", as it is commonly interpreted, any more than *virtus* means "virtue", or *crimen* a "crime", but "oppression, cruelty, tyranny, overbearing". *ὑπερβίος*, *superbus*, literally "too strong".

33. *Oculis.* Sanskrit, *aksi*, *ὀκκος*.

Hostium discordiam. The old policy of *divide et impera*.

34. *Alicæ.* Sanskrit, *anyas*, "any".

Prætexuntur. This verb is properly applied to works of the loom, and signifies "to attach a border".

Immensos lacus. The space now covered by the Zuyder Zee was then a small archipelago of islands.

Herculis columnas. These were on the Sound, between Sweden and Denmark.

Druso Germanico. Brother of the Emperor Tiberius, step-son of Augustus, and son of Livia Drusilla and Tiberius Claudius Nero.

Sanctius. "Men love rather to believe than to inquire".—LD. BACON.

35. *Ingenti flexu.* The Cimbrica Chersonesus—Promontory of Jutland.

Caucorum. Their name is still perpetuated in that of Cuxhaven.

Impotentia. Literally "incapability of self-restraint". *Quidlibet impotens sperare.*—HORACE.

Nomina superioris is the reading translated above. *Nomina sequioris* and *nomine superiores* have also been suggested.

Cherusi. From the old Teutonic *Cherusk*, "upright".

Secundis. This is properly a participle of *sequor* (*sequundus*), hence its twofold signification.

37. *Cimbri.* These were more probably a Celtic than a German tribe.

Vincitur. The use of the present tense implies that Tacitus was writing this essay at the period of these events, about A.D. 88—A.U.C. 851, the first year of the reign of Trajan. Tacitus had been consul the year before, when he published the Life of Agricola.

Cæsari abstulerunt. *i. e.* Augustus. This occurred A.D. 9.

Caii Cæsaris. *i. e.* Caligula, in A.D. 39.

38. *Obliquare crinem.* Compare Juvenal—

"Cærule quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam

Cæsariem, et madido torquentem cornua cirro".—SAT. xiii.

In some of the South Sea Islands we read that the women wear their hair platted and curled into a knot on the crown of the head, as upon some antique statues. Our present elaborate fashion of curling the hair would scarcely be attributed, except on high authority, to a race of people scarcely more civilized than the Sandwich Islanders of the present æra. *Crinis*, from *κρίνω*, signifies "divided" (*i. e.* woman's hair).

Capillus is “a single lock”, *coma* “long flowing hair”, and *cæsaries* “short (a man’s) hair”, from Sanskrit *kesa*, whence also *Cæsar*.

Juventæ and *juvenis*, from Sanskrit *juvan*.

39. *Auguriis* and the following words form a hexameter line.

Caput. Sanskrit *kapala*, κεφάλη.

Credant. (χρήζω, 2nd aor. ἔχρεδον), signifies literally “to lend”, hence, “to trust, believe”.

40. *Longobardos.* This people, in the seventh century, beside their territory in France, were masters of some portion of Italy under their celebrated Queen Theudelinda. The name Longobardi signifies “the long spears”; and the heraldic emblem generally known as the *fleur de luce*, is really the spear-head of the Lombards.

Eudoses. From their name the river Eudora (Eyder) was so called.

Præliis et periclitando. A zeugma for *præliorum periculo*.

Insulâ oceani. What island this was, has not been clearly ascertained. Rugen, Heligoland, and Mona, have been suggested, with many others. Probability is in favour of the first mentioned. Anglesea, Iona, and the Isle of Man were also scenes of similar religious ceremonies.

Vectam. This was, and is still, a favourite solemnity in all religions, ancient and modern, and may be found in the festivals of Bacchus, Cybele, Isis, Juggernaut, etc.

Non bella. This exemption resembles the armistice observed in favour of the Eleans, during the Olympic festival.

Pax, external—*quies*, internal.

41. *Fida Romanis.* Until the general combination of the Northern tribes against Rome, in A.D. 152.

Splendidissimâ colonia. Augusta Vindelicorum—Augsburg.

42. *Marabodui.* This prince had been educated at Rome, at the court of Augustus.

Pecuniâ juvantur. The fact here insinuated is, that the Romans were sometimes compelled to buy off the hostility of some of the Northern Princes.

43. *Quo magis pudeat.* Because they made no proper use of their iron.

Nigra scuta. The Chinese wear shields of bamboo, painted with figures of tigers and dragons; and among the Japanese, black is the colour employed to indicate joy and exultation.

Gothones. It was in A.D. 489 that the Goths, led by Theodoric, invaded Italy, and defeated Odoacer. They were subdued in 554, in the reign of Justinian, by Narses.

Adductius. A metaphor from the use of a bridle.

Oceano. The Baltic.

Forma navium. Like the Canadian canoes.

Precario jure. *Precarius* signifies what can be merely solicited as a

favour, and not demanded as a right; as in Livy, iii. 47: *et non orare solum precariam opem, sed pro debitâ petere.*

Lasciunt. As the Prætorian guards, the Varangians, and more recently, the Janissaries.

45. *Pigrum, etc.* In consequence of the ice.

Solis fulgor in ortus edurat. The idea of Tacitus respecting this phenomena was that, as the sun, during the solstice, did not descend far below the horizon, and as night is merely the earth's own shadow—cast in the form of a cone, because the earth is smaller than the sun—this shadow fell only near the surface, while all heavenly bodies, ranging above the penumbra, were fully illumined, and the darkness was modified to light.

Sonum—audiri. This was, of course, the hissing and crackling of the Aurora Borealis; and the forms of Deities were merely the coruscations of the light, fashioned by the imagination. Ossian appears to have had these phenomena in his mind, when he wrote or sung—"The ghosts, light as the blast of Cromla; the riders of the storm and fiery horses, sitting on the low-hung clouds, and moving like the shadow of the mist".

Illuc usque, et si. We have here the most debateable sentence in Tacitus. Many conjectural alterations, to render it intelligible, have been adduced. The reading from which the translation has been made is *Illuc usque (si vera fama) tantûm natura.* *Hus usque (est vero fama tantûm) natura,* is a very translatable form, suggested by Dr. Ingram of Oxford—i. e. "so far—but I speak merely from report—does the creation extend". Another and more antithetic arrangement is, *Illuc usque it fama; vera tantum natura, i. e.* "Such is the substance of reports; but the actual reality is the only truth". Another suggestion is, *Illuc usque, ut fama, non tamen natura,* and there are one or two others of various degrees of ingenuity.

Glesum. (*Gleissen*), "to shine", from which our term "glass" is derived, was the name given to amber by the natives of the southern shores of the Baltic. Pliny's idea of amber was very nearly correct, when he described it as the gum of a pine tree, growing liquid at first, and thus embodying insects and other substances, and subsequently hardened by the atmosphere. Amber is, in reality, a fossil gum—as proved by its being found among lignite deposits—and has undergone the same process with its kindred coal. There are at present large mines of it on the Baltic, between Dantzic and Memel, in the Philippine Islands, and on the Adriatic.

Veneti. From their name, a Slavonic dialect is called the Wend. They have also given its name to Venice—Venetia.

Artus ferarum. In consequence of their wearing skins of beasts.

NOTES ON THE AGRICOLA.

1. This and the two following chapters are devoted to prefatory observations.

Omisit is here an aorist tense.

Recti. The Platonic ὀρθόν. *Rectus* literally signifies “straight”, and is opposed to *pravus*, “crooked”.

Pronum. Literally “downhill”, opposed to *arduus* and *adversus*.

Rutilio. A lieutenant of Metellus Numidicus (A.U.C. 645), and went into voluntary exile.

Scauro. Æmilius Scaurus, also mentioned in Sallust, was the colleague of Metellus.

Arulenus Rusticus was a philosopher, put to death by Domitian, with Herennius Senecio.

Vetus Ætas. Generally signifies the times preceding the battle of Actium.

3. *Sæculi* here signifies “an era” or “period”, and not any definite length of time.

Securitas here personified, is an allusion to the figure on the Imperial Medals.

Quindecim annos. During the reign of Domitian, from A.D. 81 to 96.

Forojuliensium. *Forum Julium*—now Frejus—founded by Julius Cæsar (B.C. 53) on the site of Oxubia.

M. Silanum. Consul A.D. 19.

Honestarum artium—ἐγκυκλιαί—what we call *belles lettres*.

Studium Philosophiæ. It was in the time of Cicero that the study of Grecian philosophy—principally the Stoic and Academic—became fashionable in Rome.

Sublime. From *sublevare*, qu. *sublevimis*.

Approbavit. This verb signifies to surrender, when completed, any work performed under a contract.

Contubernio. The Roman generals were in the habit of receiving into their own tent and private society a number of select juniors, who held the rank of *aides de camp*.

Coloniæ incensæ. This refers to the burning of London (Camelodunum) founded A.D. 15, and destroyed in retaliation of the cruelties inflicted upon Boadicea by Paulinus. It was subsequently rebuilt by Agricola.

6. *Nisi quod*. An ellipsis must be filled up here—i.e. “they both acted

equally meritoriously, except that, *cæteris paribus*, the virtues and faults of a wife are relatively greater".

Jurisdictio. The Prætorship was originally instituted (A.U.C. 389) to relieve the Consuls from the civil portion of their duties. The Prætor presided as a judge, and was assisted by a jury, called *judices*.—See Rom. Antiq.

Dona templorum. Destroyed or stolen during the burning of the city by Nero.

7. *Classis Oth*. In A.D. 69, during the troubles preceding the accession of Vitellius.

Admodum juvene. 18 years old.

8. *Exemplorum*. Literally signifies a thing to be imitated, qu. *exæmulum*.

Minister. From *μειων*, opposed to *Magister*, from *μέγας*.

9. *Aquitaniæ*. One of the three provinces of Gaul, lying between the *Garumna* (Garonne), *Liris* (the Loire), the Pyrenees, and the Cevennes.

Subtilitatem. Literally "fineness of texture", from *sub* and *tela*.

Conventus. Periodical courts held in provincial towns, like our assizes.

Pontificatus. This appointment was so highly estimated, that it was generally assumed by the emperors.

Multis scriptoribus, viz. Cæsar, Pliny, Strabo, Fabius Rusticus, Livy, etc.

Obtenditur, i.e. lies in the same longitude.

Enorme. Irregularly shaped.

Thulè. Most probably Iceland.

Accrescere et resorberi. The tides presented a strange phenomenon to the Romans, who were accustomed only to the Mediterranean.

Colorati vultus. "Dark", far more probably than "tattooed". Compare Virgil, "*Coloratis ab Indis*".—Georg. iv.

Audacia—*formido*. The Celtic character.

Ferociâ. Literally "pride". From *ferox* come the French *fier* and *fiertè*.

12. *Honestior auriga*. This notion was the reverse of that of the Greeks.

Cælum fœdum. An anecdote is related of a Spanish ambassador, who had resided some time in London, and replied to a gentleman proceeding to Spain, who inquired if he could take any commands. "Nothing at present, thank you, but to present my compliments to the sun, whom I have not seen for a long time".

Humili umbrâ. See the note on Germania, c. xlv.

Margarita. Found in the Conway and the Irt, but small and few.

13. *Divus Augustus* advised that the Rhine and the Nile should be the limits of the empire, North and South.

Fatis. Either “to”, or “by the Fates”.

14. *Ostorius.* The name has been perpetuated in that of Oyster Hill, near Hereford.

Colonia. *Camelodunum*, the residence of *Cynobellinus* (Cymbeline), signifies “the town of Camalus” (Mars.)

Monam. Anglesea. The ancient name is perpetuated in that of Menai.

15. *Flumine non oceano.* And therefore more exposed.

Sic Germanias. By the slaughter of Varus and his legions.

Divus Julius. Tacitus has here inadvertently attributed to the Britons a phraseology which Romans only should employ. We find Livy, in the same manner, attributing to Hannibal the phrase “Punic War”, when speaking of the struggle with the Romans.

16. In this and the following chapter Tacitus briefly recounts the events which preceded the arrival of Agricola in Britain.

Sumpsere bellum. πόλεμον ἤραντο.

Miles. From ὁμιλία.

17. *Brigantum.* Their territories extended over Lancashire, Durham, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire.

18. *Verterentur.* A middle voice.

Custodiri videbatur. Equivalent to *custodienda videbatur*.

Vexillum. A diminutive of *velum*, signifies generally the standard of the cavalry; but is also occasionally used to denote the ensign of any particular or distinct body of troops.

Laureatis. Sc. *litteris*.

19. *Domum suam*, i. e. the whole Proconsular establishment of subordinate, civil, and military officers.

Æqualitate. A sliding scale.

Emere frumenta. The subsidies of corn required of the provinces were of two denominations, *frumentum decumanum* and *emptum*. The first of these imposts was a tenth of the crop; the second, a supply for which a fixed price was, at least, ostensibly paid; but the *decumæ* were sometimes exacted a second time (*decumæ alteræ*), on the principle of a “rate in aid”. When the collectors (*decumani*) had got all the corn of the harvest into their own hands, the natives were compelled to purchase from them at an arbitrary price, in order to supply their own wants, and furnish the *emptum*, for which they received a lower price than they had paid.

20. *Loca castris.* Some of these sites are still identified, sc. Brunswark in Annandale.

Æstuaria. The mouths of tidal rivers, with the “bars” render fordable.

Ex æquo. ἔκ τῶν ἴσων, ἔξ ἰσοτιμίας.

Illaccessita transierit. This very tortured sentence is translated above by understanding *quæ* before *transierit*. It has been proposed by Walch to read *circumdatae* (*tanto ratione et curâ, quantâ nulla ante nova Britanniae pars*) *illaccessitæ transierint*, the signification of which is easy and obvious. Others prefer a full point after *pars*, and carrying on the two concluding words, in the singular number, to the beginning of the following sentence and chapter.

21. *Sequens.* *i. e.* A.D. 70–80.

Domos extruerent. Eboracum (York) was built about this time by Agricola.

Erudire. Caligula also had previously established schools in Gaul.

Porticus et balnea. Among the Romans, who, like the Greeks, lived almost altogether out of doors during the daytime, the piazzas and baths—for the latter of which we have really no analogous name—served the purposes of our drawing rooms, libraries, and boudoirs.

22. *Tertius annus.* A.D. 80.

Taum. The Tay.

Castellis. Of which some reliques are still visible.

23. *Clota et Bodotria.* The Friths of Forth and Clyde. The line of forts erected by Agricola on this occasion extended from Kirkpatrick on the former, to Abercorn on the latter.

24. *Eam partem.* *i. e.* Galloway, Argyle, Bute, etc., etc.

Ex eo. *i. e.* either from the Irish Prince, or from Agricola. The former supposition would include that of Tacitus having been in Britain.

25. *Sextum annum.* A.D. 83.

Victus Oceanus. “Queen of the subject seas”.—Campbell. *Auctus* is also read here, *i. e.* “swollen, high-running”.

Castellis. Not those mentioned in cap. xxiii., but in Fife, Perth, and Strathern.

26. *Luce.* Sanskrit, *aloka*, *luceo*, λύκη λέυσσω.

Signa. The eagles. These were first adopted as the Roman standard by Marius in the Cimbric war.

27. *Constantiâ ac famâ.* A hendiad for *constante famâ*. *Conscientiâ ac famâ* is the reading suggested by Lipsius, which would accord better with the context.

Ducis rati. (*factum sub.*) *usos rati* and *ducis superati* have also been suggested.

28. *Rumore.* Sc. *secessionis*.

Ut miraculum. *i. e.* the natives of the coast regarded them, as they sailed past, with astonishment.

Intercepti. After sailing round the coast of Britain, they drifted into the Baltic.

39. *Montem Grampiam.* The remains of two Roman camps are still visible in the valley of Strathern.

Quibus cruda, etc., ὠμογερόντες.

Galgacus. The Latin form of the name, called by the natives *Galauc.*

30 *Nobilissimi.* Because the most aboriginal.

Omne ignotum, etc. This clause is really parenthetic. *Patet* is followed in sense, and accounted for, by *sed nulla, etc.*

31. *Emuniendis.* This verb is used to signify engineering works in general, building, fortifying, road-making, etc.

Ultro aluntur, i. e. without any care or expense on their own part.

In præsentia laturi. This phrase has been subjected to various emendations, such as, *nunc demum periclitaturi*—*in præmium laturi*—*in præcipitem aleam laturi*, or *daturi, etc.*

32. *Senum colonicæ.* See cap. v.

Ægra. νοσοῦντα. *Æger* literally signifies “oppressed, heavy”, from *æs—pondus.*

33. *Acies, i. e.* of the Caledonians—*acies, ἀκμή*, literally “an edge”.

Octavus annis, i. e. including the year of his appointment.

34. *Quinquaginta annis.* Agricola speaks here in round numbers. The time was really but forty-two years.

36. *Convinarius.* The British chariots, armed with scythes on the axle-ends, were called *covini.*

36. *Ingentibus gladiis.* These were the two-handed swords of the middle ages, “claymores”.

Festinatione victoriæ, i. e. festinando victoriam.

37. *Tum vero. τότε δὲ.*

Vulnerare, capere, etc. This aorist use of the infinitive is not to be regarded as elliptical. It is merely a vestige of the primitive state of the language, before the regular inflexions were adopted.

Passim. ἐν παντί.

38. *Trutulensem portum.* The exact locality has not been ascertained, but Richborough (*Rutupiæ*) and Portsmouth are severally suggested.

39. *Falsum triumphum.* Over the Catti, in A.U.C. 837.

Emptis. This had been previously done by Caligula.

Studia acta. All the philosophers had been banished from Rome (A.D. 90), and again in 94. Ignorance is the cause, as well as the effect of despotism. Liberty produces, and is produced by, intelligence.

Imperatoriam virtutem. The Roman government had now become a military supremacy. The purple was at the disposal of the Prætorian guards at every election, and was to be won only in the *castra domestica.*

Britanniam obtinebat. And might, perhaps, if incensed, choose to remain, and establish himself there.

40. *Pro triumpho.* The honour itself was usually reserved, as a matter of course, for imperial sham-battles.

Ne appellato quidem eo. Because the object of the letters patent was to remove Agricola from Britain, and, as he had already left it, they were reserved for some other emergency.

Uno aut altero. Lest he might be arraigned as a conspirator.

41. *Tot exercitus.* By the Daci, in A.D. 91. After which Domitian entered the city in a mock triumph.

In ipsam gloriam. Which, in such a case, was equivalent to destruction.

42. *Salarium.* First paid by Augustus.

Illicita. Such as the celebration of the birthdays of Brutus and Cassius by Helvidius Priscus.

43. *Nihil comperti, i. e. Nihil ex compertis.*

Cursores. Because Domitian was staying at his Alban villa.

44. *Nam sicuti.* Sometimes translated by supplying *solatium tulisset* after *videre*.

Spiramenta. ἀνάπνευστις.

45. *Nostræ, and nos, nos.* All imply that the events alluded to happened "in our time".

Helvidium. The crime of Helvidius was having represented on the stage, Domitian and his Queen, under the names of Paris and Ænone.

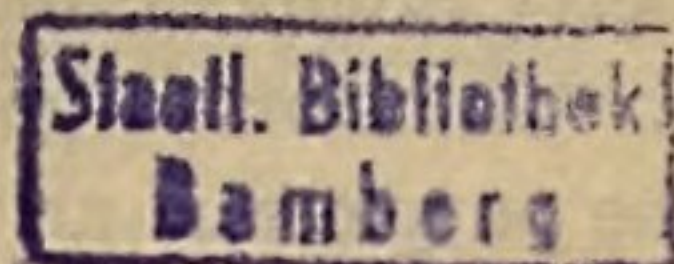
Carcerem. Gr. καρκάρα, "the barrier of a race-course".

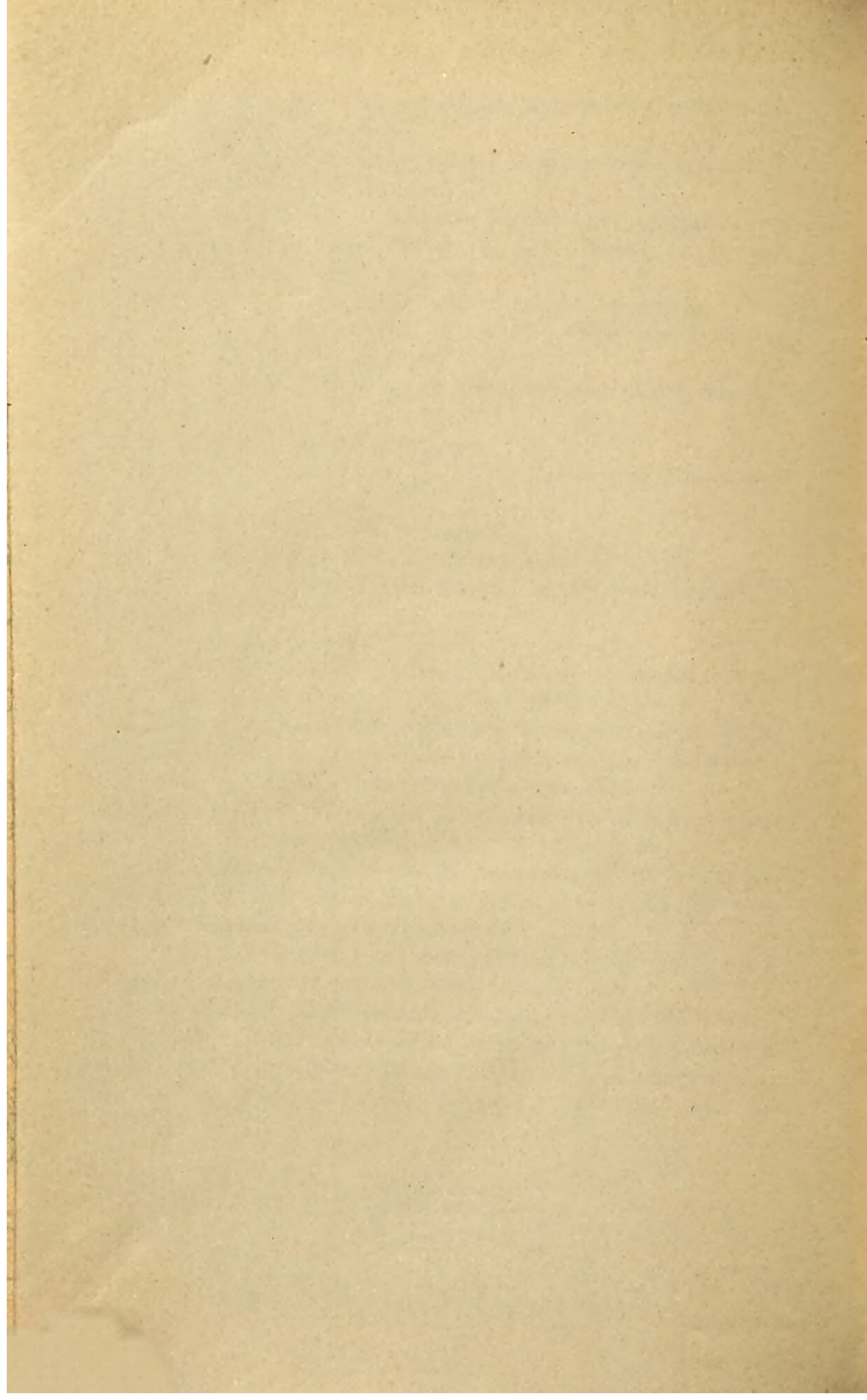
Ante quadriennium. Tacitus and his wife had withdrawn from Rome in A.D. 90; and returned after the death of Agricola, in 93.

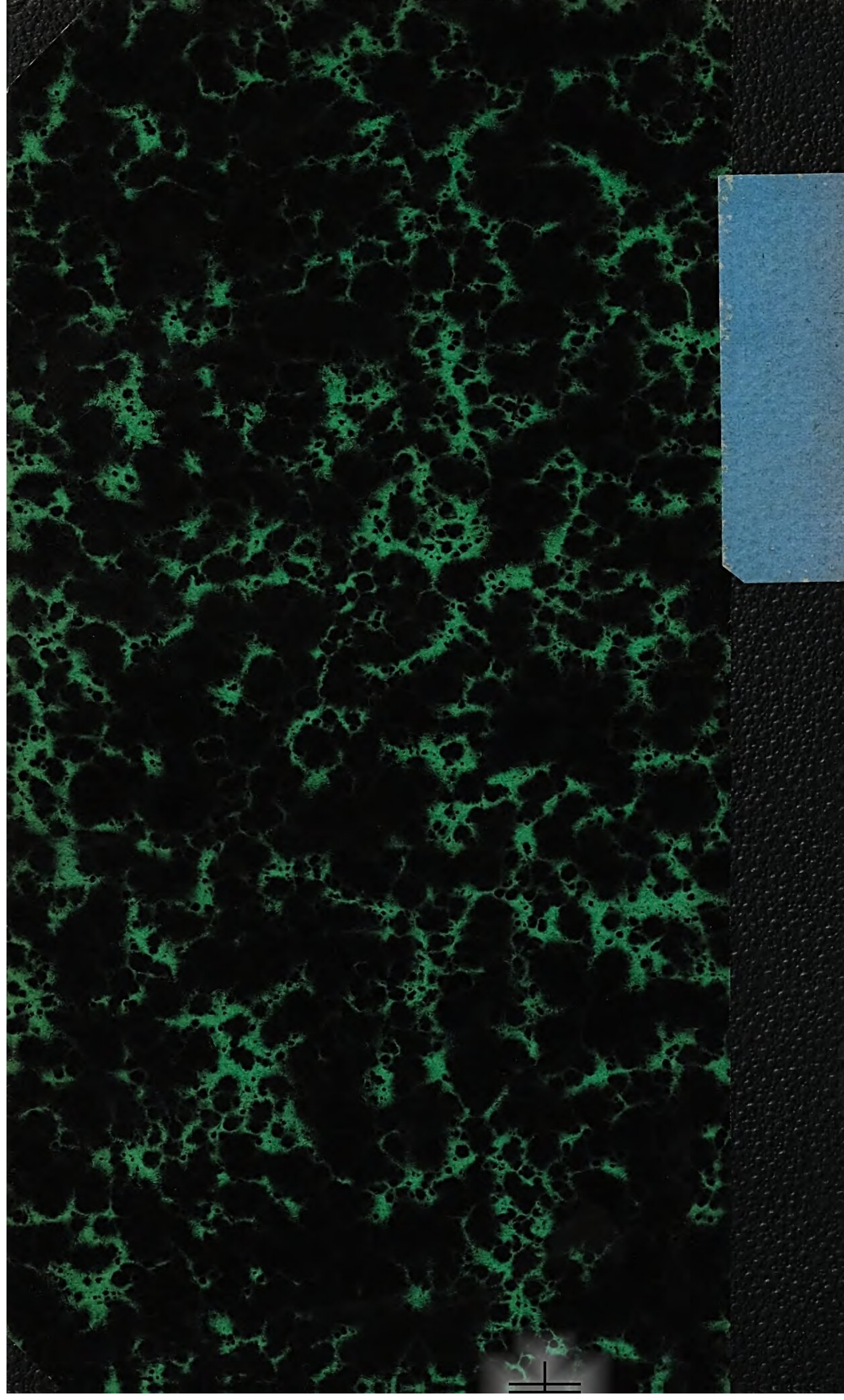
46. The Epicureans did not, like the Academics, believe in the immortality of the soul. The Stoics believed that none but those of eminent and intellectual persons were immortal.

Temporalibus is sometimes understood to signify "transient", which would contradict the concluding sentence of the Memoir.

Alienam—tuis ipse. *Alienam* may either imply the difference between material and spiritual existences; on which principle the translation above has been made: or may be antithetic to *tuis ipse*. According to this view, the phrases will signify respectively "external" and "internal".







Tacitus, Cornelius,

The Germany and Agricola

Dublin [u.a.] 1860

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